

The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XX

TORONTO, SEPTEMBER, 1939

No. 3

HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN CANADA¹

HISTORICAL research in Canada is still mainly confined, by the character of materials available in the country, to Canadian history. This statement is therefore concerned chiefly with the work which is being done in that field. For more than forty years the published results of research in Canadian history have been authoritatively reviewed, first in the annual *Review of historical publications relating to Canada*, and since 1920 in its quarterly successor, the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. The latter, in its reviews, its full and critical bibliographical lists, its annual lists of theses in progress for graduate degrees,² and its notes on archives, historical museums, and historical societies, provides a current picture of activity in Canadian history. In view of this the present brief survey need only indicate in a general way the character and scope of research at present being done, the adequacy of available materials and of their organization, the facilities for training research workers, the opportunities for them when trained, and the means for the publication of the results of their efforts. Certain pertinent suggestions with regard to these matters are also set forth. The survey is based in part upon replies received from a number of historians, archivists, and librarians to a brief questionnaire circulated last autumn. For the information and the suggestions thus contributed acknowledgment is gratefully made.

Most historical research in Canada that is mature as well as

¹A report prepared for the committee on social science research in Canada. This committee was organized in 1938 to investigate the condition of research in the social sciences, and to consider the possibilities of its furtherance and the needs in connection therewith. The members of the committee, representing various aspects of the social sciences, compiled reports concerning their respective fields, and these were assembled for the use of the committee by its secretary, Dr. J. E. Robbins of the education branch of the dominion bureau of statistics. The committee is continuing its investigation, and hopes eventually to be able to present a comprehensive report which will be available to all who may be interested. Meanwhile it has authorized the publication, through various channels, of some of its interim findings, including this statement concerning historical research prepared by the chairman of the committee.

²The thirteenth annual list of graduate theses published by the REVIEW is printed in this issue.

serious is done today by university teachers, a surprising proportion of whom, when one considers the other demands on their time and energy, manage to maintain more or less continuous activity in productive research. Of these at least ten or twelve are working on British and European history, mostly the former, and on topics for which a large part of the material has to be found outside the dominion, most of it across the Atlantic. A group at least twice as large is engaged in research that is essentially Canadian and can mostly be done in Canada, though sometimes it requires also the study of materials across the ocean or over the border, especially when the subject under examination involves certain phases of British policy or some aspects of Canadian-American relations. In every province (except Prince Edward Island) research is in progress by members of university staffs on aspects of provincial or regional history, while a number are working on problems that are distinctly national in scope. In both types of work increasing attention is being given to economic and social topics although political and constitutional developments continue to receive the study that they still demand in view of their particular significance in Canadian history. There is a wholesome tendency more often than formerly to see regional problems in their national setting and national problems in their imperial, European, and North American settings.

In the universities the researches of staff members are supplemented by the researches which they stimulate and guide on the part of graduate students. Only two or three institutions attempt to offer work for the Ph.D. in history, and the total number of students working for this degree hardly exceeds ten or a dozen. Most of their thesis research is inevitably done away from their universities. Most Canadian students of history seeking a degree higher than the M.A. go outside the country for it. At least ten Canadian universities, however, do M.A. work in history regularly, each conferring a number of degrees every year. In most instances a thesis which is a genuine exercise in research is a prominent part of the requirement. In many cases it is more than an exercise, and embodies fresh results of original research. Now and then an M.A. thesis is produced which can well bear comparison with many Ph.D. theses. Some M.A. theses are written on topics in European history, usually recent, and in various periods of the history of England and the British Empire. Such theses are made possible at several institutions by reason of the interests of certain staff members and the resources of special collections in available libraries. In most institutions, however, the theses

deal oftenest with Canadian history. Some are studies of topics national in scope, but in considerable part M.A. theses are being used to build up a body of systematic researches into local history. One suspects that this type of thesis is more often of permanent value than are the theses dealing with subjects of broader scope, however admirably the broader themes may serve the needs of students in training. In some cases field work is involved in these local studies as well as the use of local archival material; a goodly number of students working in these, or in wider, fields use the provincial and some of them the national Archives besides the materials available in the immediate neighbourhood of their universities. Occasionally the resources of historical society collections and of private libraries are also utilized.

It seems to be the general practice to preserve M.A. as well as Ph.D. theses as bound typescript volumes in the university libraries, where they are usually available for consultation. Only occasionally do the findings of an M.A. thesis find their way into print.

Important historical research is done by members of the staffs of a number of archives and libraries, particularly in connection with the calendaring and editing of documentary materials for publication, and to some extent in researches which lead to the publication of books and articles, but for the most part the activities of such staffs fall under the next section of this report. Among government departments conducting historical research, a distinguished instance is to be noted in the historical section of the department of national defence. The royal commission on dominion-provincial relations has recently been responsible for important historical research, some of which would hardly have been possible without the resources thus made available.

Certain historical societies have produced some very creditable results either in individual books or in regularly published reports or volumes of proceedings. There have been also a certain number of individuals, not engaged professionally in historical work, who have done writing of high quality, and it is to be regretted that the number of these is not larger.

Replies to the questionnaire include some remarks as to what branches of historical research are over-emphasized in Canada and what are under-emphasized. Over-emphasis is alleged on the political history of the pre-Confederation period, on constitutional history, on regional monographs, and in French Canada on genealogical studies. This is perhaps another way of pointing out that these are the matters most adequately handled at present.

More emphasis is felt to be desirable on "works of synthesis and of auxiliary sciences in history" and on social and economic history, though it is pointed out by some that phases of the latter are now being well studied. One historian feels that there is too little emphasis on "practically all that is not English-Canadian or United States-Canadian because of the lack of adequate materials and people competent to direct such research." Another stresses the need of research that will "put life into post-confederation history." The question is also raised as to whether there is not too much research in Canadian history at the expense of too little in the history of Europe, the United States, and other parts of the world.

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Materials for research in Canadian history are present in abundance in some provinces, and in only a fair amount in others. They are to be found in archives, parliamentary, legislative, and occasionally, public libraries, in museums and collections of some provincial and local historical societies, and in university libraries, most of which are rich in one or more types of Canadiana besides being fairly well provided along some other historical lines of special interest. The Public Archives at Ottawa, having passed through a period of phenomenally successful collecting, have now entered upon a period when the unusually generous facilities which have long been afforded there to visiting research workers promise to be supplemented by more thorough organization of its large resources than has been possible in the past. As for provincial archives, the most adequately housed and organized collections are to be found at Quebec, Victoria, and Halifax. At Toronto the change recently effected by which the provincial archives are now housed and administered in combination with the Legislative Library holds possibilities for an enlargement of available materials for basic research in Ontario. The legislative libraries of the Prairie Provinces contain the archival records of those provinces and of the old North West Territories. The library of the University of Saskatchewan has recently been given responsibility in connection with the archives of that province, a step that holds interesting promise. The paucity of records preserved at Fredericton is to some extent offset by the admirable start made by the new museum at Saint John in collecting materials for New Brunswick history.

A principal problem in the Maritime Provinces and in the West arises from the necessity of consulting records at Ottawa in connection with many aspects of provincial history, to say nothing

of their importance for the study of wider topics. The inconveniences and expense resulting from distance are a definite handicap. The growth of microfilm copying, so much less costly than older methods of transcribing or photostating, will in time measurably overcome this difficulty, but the journey will still often have to be taken. Meanwhile the first essential for efficient pooling of resources for research so as to secure their maximum availability for scholars in all parts of the country is that every archives and library possessing significant materials should put out lists sufficiently full to be a real guide to any research worker as to the importance of its collection for his problem. Already there are in print a good many official calendars and edited documents. These are all to the good and others would be useful, but lists of material are now more sorely needed so far as advanced research is concerned. It is desirable also that by a regular system of exchanging such lists, in printed, mimeographed, and/or microfilm form, every research library in the country shall be ensured the possession of them all. To quote one suggestion on this point: "Every agency collecting original materials is under obligation (a) to make these materials accessible and (b) to issue lists (not necessarily calendars) of the material they have in their custody. Historical material of this sort is a matter of national concern and some sense of trusteeship is indispensable."

Obviously much needs to be done in this direction not only for larger collections but for the smaller and more specialized collections such as some of the local historical societies have gathered. Besides manuscripts there is much printed material the whereabouts of which should be made easily ascertainable. In this connection the oft-repeated suggestion of a national library is specially pertinent. It could serve as a national clearing house of information concerning much material with which it is not practicable for a national archives to attempt to deal.

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Facilities for training have improved greatly in recent years in the matter of more systematic training in methods and guidance in actual research, though room is still seen for improvement in these matters. A number of further suggestions have been offered in this connection. The general tenor of most of them stresses the desirability of more money for graduate research, particularly in the way of travelling fellowships and grants to cover travelling expenses of research students, particularly to the Public Archives. National bursaries in the social sciences

"similar to those provided for the sciences through the National Research Council" would be to the national advantage. The need is also urged for an institute or school of historical research at Ottawa, to be conducted jointly by, or in close co-ordination with, Canadian universities. For many years Queen's University has conducted a summer school of historical research at the Public Archives. Assurance can be given that Queen's would not wish to stand in the way of the establishment of a school on a broader basis whenever a genuinely co-operative scheme might prove feasible.

The placing of scholars trained in historical research upon completion of their training is a serious problem if it is hoped to have them continue research. Even those students with special aptitude for research must in most cases depend upon other work for their livelihood. Continuance of research by such people can be assured only by finding some means of supplementing their regular income in order to make it possible for them to obtain sufficient periods of leisure and to meet the expenses of travel and of securing copies of material, besides other necessary outlay incidental to their research.

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Means for the publication of historical work that cannot be published in book form are various. Outstanding among periodical publications are the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, the annual *Reports of the Canadian Historical Association*, the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, the *British Columbia historical quarterly*, and in some measure general quarterlies published by several universities. Societies such as the Champlain Society and a number of provincial and local historical societies issue regular or occasional volumes in which much is published. A goodly number of Canadian historians have found and are finding opportunity for publishing their work in such series as those on "Canadian frontiers of settlement" and on "Canadian American relations" financed by American foundations. Some important assistance in publication has been accorded historical research through the research committee of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Occasional assistance is also given by universities.

As to the adequacy of present facilities for publication opinions differ, from the verdict that they are "far too small" to the view that they are "about adequate at present to the output that is of sufficient value to merit publication." As output grows there will doubtless be needed more space for publication. Probably

the first need will be for more expansion of periodical publications in size and perhaps in number. Universities may be led to enlarge their publication funds. The council of the Canadian Historical Association has for some time had in mind the publication of a series of monographs under its auspices, but financial and administrative requirements of such a project have stood in the way of its realization.

As to the functions of a committee on social science research in relation to history, there has been expressed considerable variety of view, from that which would leave history to historical organizations, to that which would turn to such a committee both for financial backing and for guidance in the co-ordination of research and the improvement of research facilities in every feasible way. Some aspects of historical research are inextricably intertwined with studies in other social sciences. A committee representing all of these should encourage a closer integration of historical research with research in related fields. A national committee also, by helping in the correlation of regional studies in the several sections of Canada, and by promoting the improvement and co-ordination of needful facilities and resources for research throughout the country, might serve not only the needs of scholarship but the wider cause of national development on a basis of sympathy and understanding.

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THE HONOURABLE PETER RUSSELL
ADMINISTRATOR OF UPPER CANADA, 1796-1799

THE Honourable Peter Russell, administrator of the government of Upper Canada from the departure of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe in 1796 until the arrival of General Peter Hunter in 1799, has been an all but forgotten figure in the history of Canada. Those who have written of him have done so only to condemn him as a land-grabbing pirate who enriched himself and his friends at the expense of Upper Canada.¹ Of his real character and contribution to the province, little has been known.

It has been the fashion to depreciate the abilities of the colonial administrators of the eighteenth century, to imply that they went to the outposts of empire to make their fortunes only on failing to find employment in England. It is true that the system of patronage which prevailed in England at that time made appointments purely on merit very unusual, but in the circumstances the calibre of the men sent out was remarkably good. These administrators were rarely prepared by education or experience for frontier life and any hopes they may have entertained of finding the amenities which they had little prospect of acquiring in England were soon dispelled. Yet it is remarkable how successfully they adapted themselves to the new conditions. As shrewd a man as Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe had hoped to establish an hereditary aristocracy in Upper Canada but he soon saw the folly of such an ambition. It is important to note that the officials sent out from England were no more self-seeking and selfish in their interests than those recruited from the loyalists who had had the benefit of experience of colonial life.

Peter Russell deserves no more condemnation than any of his contemporaries and indeed his undoubted contribution to the early development of Upper Canada entitles him to a place among her most praiseworthy administrators. Russell was undoubtedly over-ambitious for offices and the dignity and emoluments they brought him; he over-estimated his importance but he had faith in the future of the colony and he foresaw many of its needs. In addition to carrying out the policy of his predecessor, Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, he had his own aims, which, though less imaginative, were more practical. His first concern was with the land problem, which occupied so large a place in every phase of the colony's development. Here he tried to bring about practical

¹E.g., E. Ryerson, *The loyalists of America and their times* (Toronto, 1880), II, 260.

reforms: to make the crown and clergy reserves productive; to sell the waste lands in blocks of not more than 6,000 acres to the individual; to encourage people to take out their warrants, since many had been held up and the land office was urgently in need of fees. He interested himself in the further introduction of British criminal law,² in the establishment of schools³ and churches,⁴ in the improvement of the militia,⁵ in the reform of the marriage laws,⁶ in the "Education and Support of Orphan Children,"⁷ in the development of communications,⁸ and in public works throughout the province.⁹ He dealt with the problems of immigration and settlement, of the Indian reserves, and of the financial set-up with remarkable efficiency. A review of his administration shows, in part, that he left a mark on every important problem in the colony.

* * *

Russell was born in Cork on June 11, 1733.¹⁰ His antecedents were Anglican and tory with the tradition of the army, the church, commerce, and landholding on a small scale. During his school-days, which were spent in Ireland, he showed an aptitude for study, and his master, Dr. Parkinson, wrote to his father that "his make is not for hardship but his head is clear and his heart is good."¹¹ His career at St. John's College, Cambridge, was a disappointment for he devoted himself to riotous living rather than to learning. He soon tired of the university, and believing himself "too weakly" for the navy and too old to enter trade he chose a career in the army, securing a commission in 1752.

After a few years in Gibraltar and on the Barbary coast Russell was sent to North America to join General Braddock. He took no part in the campaigns, however, and wrote that "a little foresight into future events might certainly have prevented a large expense I have and must be at to no purpose except that of seeing America which I am sure cannot ad much either to my satisfaction or improvement."¹² He continued to serve in America

²Public Archives of Canada, *Series S*, Upper Canada sundries, vol. I, p. 53, acts passed in the 2d session of the 2d parliament, June, 1797.

³*Series Q*, vol. 283, p. 213, Russell to Portland, July 21, 1797.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 104, Russell to Portland, Feb. 24, 1797.

⁵Upper Canada sundries, vol. i, p. 53, acts passed, June, 1797.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 79, acts passed, June, 1799.

⁸E. A. Cruikshank (ed.), *The correspondence of the Honourable Peter Russell with allied documents* (Toronto, 1932-6), I, 117, Russell to Simcoe, Dec. 31, 1796.

⁹*Q*, vol. 286, part I, pp. 244-51, Russell to Hunter, Aug. 20, 1799.

¹⁰The material on Russell's early life is found in the *Russell papers* in the Public Archives of Ontario.

¹¹*Russell papers*, Dr. Parkinson to R. Russell, Nov. 3, 1748.

¹²*Ibid.*, Russell to his father, Oct. 6, 1755.

and the West Indies until gambling debts forced his temporary retirement from the Army. After a number of years spent on an estate in North Carolina¹³ he returned to England in 1771 and failing to find employment studied physic. Once again he became seriously pressed by gambling debts and in 1773 fled to Rotterdam to escape imprisonment. The passing of the bill for the "Relief of insolvent debtors" permitted him to return to England in the following year.

Failing to find civil employment, Russell again entered the army in 1776 and returned to America where he met with relative success in the campaigns. Good fortune followed him after his appointment as assistant secretary to Sir Henry Clinton, commander-in-chief of the British forces. He became a judge of the court of vice-admiralty in South Carolina, a captain in the 64th Regiment, and finally superintendent of the port of Charleston, a post which he never filled as the city capitulated before he could take up his duties. Returning to England in 1782, Russell helped Sir Henry Clinton with his history of the war in America while trying to attract the assistance of influential men in securing a lucrative appointment.

John Graves Simcoe met Russell at Clinton's house in 1790 and expressed a wish to help him at this time, but it was not until his prospect of accompanying Captain Andrew Elliot, proposed minister to the United States, as secretary of legation¹⁴ had failed that Russell began to display interest in Simcoe's appointment to Upper Canada.¹⁵ Simcoe, who saw that Russell might be of service to him, recommended him as receiver-general for Upper Canada.¹⁶ Clinton favoured the appointment and wrote to Simcoe:

I have often thought that such a man would be of great consequence to this new Settlement in its progress, nay to the extent it may go. The salary is modest, so must I fear our friends views be (as his filial piety has reduced his circumstances much) . . . I am certain Mr. Pitt will need no other application than yours for an office so immediately connected with the establishment made in favour of a man who from his knowledge of the country and the people and the Employment he has held there is so previously qualified to answer every purpose.¹⁷

Russell had no ambition to go to Canada and only the necessity of supporting his dependants and the seeming impossibility of

¹³*Ibid.*, Russell to his father, April 17, 1768.

¹⁴*Q*, vol. 290, part 1, p. 46, Russell to Portland, April 23, 1801.

¹⁵*Russell papers*, Russell to Captain Smith, May 5, 1791.

¹⁶E. A. Cruikshank, "The executive council of the province of Upper Canada, 1792-96" (E. A. Cruikshank (ed.), *The correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe*, Toronto, 1931, V, 163).

¹⁷*Russell papers*, Clinton to Simcoe, July 20, 1791.

securing other employment made him accept the appointment. In addition to his position as receiver-general he was recommended for the executive and legislative councils, and, as senior official, he was placed next to Simcoe so that he might be prepared to take over the direction of the government in case of Simcoe's death or absence from Upper Canada. Compensation for the inadequate salary was promised in the form of land. This Russell felt would "gild the pill, tho an unpleasant one."¹⁸ A letter to his sister shows, however, that he was not entirely pessimistic over his future:

The Canada is not so pleasant a country as England it has its arguments and if I were younger and ambitious the situation I am placed in would be desirable from the consequence annexed with the opportunity I should have of acquiring valuable tracts of Land to portion out to my future offspring. But as I am neither young, ambitious, nor likely to have children, I shall not hesitate to forgo the Dignity of being a Canadian Nobleman and a Privy Councillor with the title of Honourable if I can possibly obtain an Employment this side of the water.¹⁹

As a post failed to turn up in England, Russell sailed in March, 1792, and arrived in Kingston in time to attend the first meeting of the executive council of Upper Canada in June. Russell was now in his sixtieth year, tired and old, with a long and strenuous life behind him. While he had no preconceived ideas on land settlement or on the development of the province and but little knowledge of the problems he would have to face, he had but a faint hope of personal gain from his position. Although he did not share Simcoe's enthusiasm for the new British development, he was conscientious and industrious, completely in sympathy with his chief and quite prepared to carry out his policy.

Until the administration of the government devolved upon him, when Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe returned to England on leave of absence in the summer of 1796, Russell had been concerned chiefly with the financial aspects of the government, his duties as receiver-general and auditor having absorbed him so completely that he was familiar only with Simcoe's general policy for the province. Consequently, he was dismayed to find that, through some error, Simcoe had failed to leave sufficient documents to give an indication of his own policy and of his instructions from the home government.²⁰ Simcoe did not anticipate a permanent absence from Upper Canada and he considered Russell well suited to be his temporary successor since he had shown himself to be competent in the execution of his duties and was unlikely to

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Russell to his father, Aug. 15, 1791.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Russell to his sister, Sept. 12, 1791.

²⁰*Q*, vol. 282, part II, p. 562, schedule of state papers left by Simcoe.

introduce any policy contrary to Simcoe's own.²¹ Temperamentally the men were diametrically opposed. While Simcoe had visions of the future trade possibilities of the great lakes and the St. Lawrence river waterways, and of the potential natural wealth of the hinterland, it is doubtful if Russell ever displayed any enthusiasm for trade and any more than a passing interest in the suspected mineral resources of the province. Simcoe conceived schemes for increasing immigration, but Russell was more concerned with the practical problems of land settlement, with the technical difficulties of establishing immigrants on the land and of keeping them there as permanent settlers. Russell was not a man of vision but his practical good sense made him well able to execute the schemes of his brilliant predecessor.

Land granting and the settlement of the province were the first problems which faced President Russell. Provision for the examination of the qualifications of settlers and for the method of land granting had been made by his majesty's instructions in 1792. These had specified that the land be laid out in townships, each to be as nearly as possible ten miles square with frontage on navigable waters. Two-sevenths over and above all land laid out to be granted was to be reserved for the crown and the clergy. Grants to individuals were restricted to 4-acre town lots and 200-acre farm lots, except in the case of the privileged classes (loyalists and military claimants). As these regulations were designed to prevent vast tracts being held by persons who had no intention of becoming permanent settlers, a provision was made whereby 1,000-acre farm lots in addition could be granted to persons who had proved themselves capable of developing such a quantity. In the case of family grants, 50 acres²² in addition were allowed for the wife and each child, with an extension to 1,200 acres for the privileged classes. Grants were subject to fees of 6*d.* an acre for all but the privileged classes when half fees were paid by the government.²³ In June, 1796, the expenses of survey were added to those of fees for all but privileged persons.²⁴

Under Russell's leadership much needed reform in the land-granting machinery was brought about with alacrity. Although many changes in ownership of land had taken place since the

²¹Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Simcoe*, V, 152, Simcoe to Russell, Nov. 1, 1795.

²²E. A. Cruikshank, "The first session of the executive council of Upper Canada held in Kingston, July 8th to July 21st, 1792" (*Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records*, XXI, 1924, 165).

²³Gilbert Paterson, *Land settlement in Upper Canada* (Toronto, Public Archives of Ontario, 1920), 40.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 58.

first settlement of the province, through death, through loss by mortgage, and through sale,²⁵ there was no means whereby titles could be proved. An act which was passed in June, 1797, for securing titles of land in the province aimed at rectifying this.²⁶ In 1799 this act was extended for two years.²⁷ Wide powers were given to the land commission provided by the act but only a strong hand could have brought order out of the chaos that reigned.²⁸ Early in 1797 the executive council ordered the clerk of the council to reject any petition for land in which the petitioner did not set forth clearly how much land, if any, he had previously received.²⁹ The records were to be carefully examined to ensure that the petitioner's statement was correct.³⁰ Family grants were restricted on July 1, 1797; the allowance of 50 acres for wife and each child was to be deducted, except in specific instances, where the grant exceeded 1,200 acres.³¹

A report drawn up by the land commission in 1797 showed the mistaken illusions of those who had received grants of townships,³² and as a result all appropriations for townships and other large tracts of land hitherto made in the province were rescinded and the townships and tracts were thrown open to applicants. Only those who had been settled before June 1, 1797, were confirmed in their location, up to 200 acres, while the four principal nominees were allowed 1,200 acres each, including former grants exclusive of military lands, providing that they were not nominees of more than one township.³³

Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe had had a deep aversion to all forms of land speculation. He had been ceaseless in his efforts to encourage settlers to take up the 200-acre grants and he did all possible to discourage associated companies and land jobbers whether they came from Britain or the United States. He foresaw the dangers of large tracts left unsettled and of the possibility of individuals exploiting the Indian lands.³⁴ Russell's determination to continue this policy was upheld by the executive council

²⁵*Q*, vol. 284, p. 24, Elmsley to Russell, Nov. 26, 1797.

²⁶Upper Canada sundries, vol. I, p. 53, acts passed in the 2d session of the 2d parliament of Upper Canada, June, 1797.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 79, schedule of acts in the 3d session of the 2d parliament of Upper Canada.

²⁸*Q*, vol. 284, p. 27, Elmsley to Russell, Nov. 26, 1797.

²⁹*Series E*, Upper Canada, Executive council minutes, State "B," p. 4, minutes of the executive council, Jan. 24, 1797.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 88.

³¹*E*, Land "C," p. 111, minutes of the executive council, July 1, 1797.

³²*Q*, vol. 284, pp. 118-25, report of the executive council, July 3, 1797.

³³*Ibid.*, pp. 124-5.

³⁴Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Simcoe*, II, 137, Dorchester to Simcoe, Jan. 27, 1794.

and by Governor-General Prescott. The Duke of Portland, secretary of state, warmly applauded his attitude: "I cannot but congratulate you on having been able to avoid the formation of settlements by associated companies and I think your determination to proceed in making Grants to Individuals only in Cases where the Waste Lands of the Crown are to be disposed of, must be right."³⁵ Precautions were taken to discourage land jobbers. In order to curb speculation, Russell ordered that no person who had already received donations from the crown be eligible to receive land from the grantees of appropriated tracts. He requested the surveyor-general to "be very diligent to prevent this Evil, and be pleased to inform the Grantees that the very first discovery of this sort will immediately forfeit their claim to the appropriation."³⁶ While the free grants remained in vogue, the petitions were referred to the executive council and upon its recommendation were usually acceded to by the administrator.³⁷ Stipulation was made that the petitioner might not sell the land until after the issuance of the deed unless by specific permission of the council. To do so would be deemed a forfeiture of the location.³⁸ President Russell was extremely strict in regard to this.

The problem of fees on land grants had always proved a vexing one, and since it was the policy of the British government to pay officials from fees, it became imperative to assure their collection. On Russell's suggestion, it was determined that half the fees be paid when the warrant of survey was issued, as a check upon speculation.³⁹ By the resolutions of October 25, 1798, the scale of fees was revised and arrangements were made to distribute them according to an agreed table.⁴⁰

Additional reforms followed. On June 5, 1798, the assembly passed an act "to ascertain and establish on a permanent footing the Boundary lines of the different Townships of the Province."⁴¹ A more vigorous system to govern transfers of land from loyalists to other settlers was proposed⁴² since the problem of loyalist grants had become increasingly acute. One difficulty arose from the fact that unmarried women and young men who preferred to live

³⁵Series G, Colonial secretary to Russell and Hunter, vol. 53, part II, p. 269, Portland to Russell, Jan. 24, 1799.

³⁶Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Russell*, I, 79, Russell to Smith, Nov. 1, 1796.

³⁷Q, vol. 284, p. 220, Russell to Prescott, Jan. 28, 1798.

³⁸Q, vol. 285, p. 220, minutes of the executive council, Dec. 20, 1797.

³⁹Q, vol. 284, p. 12, Russell to Portland, Nov. 19, 1797.

⁴⁰Q, vol. 286, p. 21, schedule of fees, proclamation, Oct. 31, 1798.

⁴¹Upper Canada sundries, vol. I, p. 64, schedule of acts in the 3d session of the 2d parliament of Upper Canada.

⁴²Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Russell*, III, 229, minutes of the executive council, June 11, 1799.

on their father's farms would willingly dispose of their own grants for such small sums as £1 to £5 for 200 acres,⁴³ thus affording an opportunity for speculators to acquire land ridiculously cheaply. To prevent this, regulations were laid down governing the purchase of land from privileged persons. Whenever the president and council permitted deeds to be issued in the names of purchasers of land originally granted to privileged persons, they might receive them on payment of the customary half fees, providing they applied for the deeds by June 30, 1799, otherwise they would be subject to the expenses of survey in addition.⁴⁴ When it was discovered that not all those who had received land as loyalists were such, a check-up was demanded⁴⁵ and an oath imposed on all suspected persons.⁴⁶ Large and valuable tracts were prevented from remaining idle to some extent since land was not granted to absentee proprietors. Occasionally there was deviation from this rule, however, as in the case of Benedict Arnold, a character "extremely obnoxious to the original Loyalists of America."⁴⁷ Arnold, with his family, was granted 13,400 acres in 1798⁴⁸ but failed to settle in the country. This was probably fortunate as Simcoe believed "it would be certainly most disagreeable to the settlers of Upper Canada that Gen'l Arnold should live among them."⁴⁹

Simcoe had opposed the sale of crown land while free land was available, believing that land values would increase rapidly in the future.⁵⁰ Before leaving for England, however, he advised Russell to consult with the executive council on the future income to be derived from the reserved land.⁵¹ Russell accordingly sought the views of the chief justice, the solicitor-general, and the attorney-general on their future management. After considering their reports, the executive council recommended in August, 1797, that the reserves be leased at a rack rent for a term of years not to exceed twenty-one.⁵² Undoubtedly leasing the reserves had advantages: they would be rendered productive, the boundaries would be preserved, and trespassers would be prevented from

⁴³W. D. Canniff, *History of the settlement of Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1869), 176.

⁴⁴Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Russell*, III, 229, minutes of the executive council, June 11, 1799.

⁴⁵State "B," p. 150, minutes of the executive council, May 23, 1798.

⁴⁶Q, vol. 295, p. 213, minutes of the executive council, Oct. 29, 1799.

⁴⁷Q, vol. 285, p. 446, Simcoe to King, March 26, 1798.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 452, minutes of the executive council, Oct., 1798.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 417, Simcoe to King, May 17, 1798.

⁵⁰Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Simcoe*, IV, 340, Simcoe to Portland, July 20, 1796.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 337, Simcoe to Russell, July 8, 1796.

⁵²Q, vol. 284, p. 218, minutes of the executive council, Aug. 14, 1797.

cutting timber and in other ways depreciating their value.⁵³ On the other hand, there was a strong prejudice against leasing while free land could be obtained easily.⁵⁴ For this reason Russell was against the proposal. The attempt made in 1801⁵⁵ to carry out the plan was a failure and Russell's premise proved correct, since those who were not entitled to free land preferred buying to leasing.⁵⁶

Since Governor-General Prescott's plan for the "disposal of the Waste lands of the Crown by sale" had been assented to by the British government, the executive council of Upper Canada met in July, 1798, to consider how this policy could best be carried out. They were of the opinion that "after deducting the Crown and Clergy Sevenths and a sufficient quantity for the constantly recurring claims of the United Empire Loyalists and their descendants, the whole of the remainder be disposed of by Public Sale, what the quantity shall be may be reserved for future consideration."⁵⁷ In October of the same year they recommended that before the plan be put into operation or even made known to the public, an extensive addition to the available land be made by purchases of Indian territory.⁵⁸ Russell, realizing the crippled state of the province's finances, urged immediate sale but he yielded to the arguments of the council for delay.⁵⁹ Early in 1799 it was determined to sell part of the waste land in large blocks, with 2s.6d. on the pound to be paid down and the remainder in three annual instalments.⁶⁰ The extent of the waste lands being unknown, the sale was delayed until September when the townships of Dereham and Norwich were offered to the highest bidder in blocks of 3,000 acres.⁶¹ The honesty of the government officials in this sale is open to question. A traveller arriving in York found that "the sale had been arranged to take place at the period of the year, when, notwithstanding all the publishing and advertising possible it would not be known beyond the limits of York, so that there would be land enough for everybody in the town to purchase without competition."⁶² When the time of the sale arrived, "several

⁵³G, vol. 53, part 1, p. 208, observations on depreciations on reserved lands—Prescott.

⁵⁴Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Russell*, II, 59, Russell to the Bishop of Quebec, Feb. 22, 1798.

⁵⁵Q, vol. 290, part 1, p. 1, Portland to Russell, Jan., 1801.

⁵⁶Paterson, *Land settlement in Upper Canada*, 66.

⁵⁷Q, vol. 284, p. 217, minutes of the executive council, July 13, 1798.

⁵⁸Q, vol. 286, part 1, pp. 21-4, report of the executive council, Oct. 22, 1798.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 25, Russell to Elmsley, Oct. 26, 1798.

⁶⁰*Russell papers*, Russell to H. Farmer, Jan. 31, 1799.

⁶¹Upper Canada, Executive council, *Broadside*, Sept. 24, 1799.

⁶²G. T. Landmann, *Adventures and recollections of Colonel Landmann* (London, 1852), II, 132.

officers of Government and some very particular friends made chimney corner bids, taking care to go somewhat higher than His Majesty's Instructions, in order to make the sales valid."⁶³ The townships were thus sold at about 9*d.* an acre while many people had been willing to go as high as 2*s.*⁶⁴ The 81,000 acres⁶⁵ sold brought only £411 16*s.*0*d.*⁶⁶ more than would have been received in fees under the free grant system.

Russell carried out Simcoe's policy of encouraging immigration from the United States until it increased to proportions which seriously alarmed the settlers of British origin who resented the superior skill of the Americans as pioneer settlers and feared lest their political ideas endanger British institutions.⁶⁷ Spasmodic immigration continued from the British Isles but these settlers were not as successful as those from the United States.

Great difficulties arose over two land-settlement schemes during Russell's administration. The first was concerned with the Berczy settlement. In 1794 a German named William Berczy had been granted 64,000 acres in Markham township for a large colonization scheme.⁶⁸ Providing that fees and expenses of survey had been paid, the deeds were promised six months after the tract was settled.⁶⁹ The council repeatedly put off granting the deeds and finally informed Berczy that, as his settlers were not British subjects, they could not receive patents until they had been in the country for seven years.⁷⁰ Although the settlement suffered greatly from this decree at the time, it ultimately became one of the most prosperous in the province.

The second settlement scheme was that of the French royalists

⁶³*An address to the people of the Canadas*, by a friend to natural and equal rights (New York, [1801]), 40.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

⁶⁵Toronto Reference Library, *Baldwin papers*, list on the back of a broadside of Sept. 24, 1799. The land was sold to:

Hon. Mr. Russell.....	9,000 acres
Mr. Ball.....	12,000 acres
Mr. Addison.....	18,000 acres
Hon. Mr. Hamilton.....	15,000 acres
Mr. Burke.....	12,000 acres
W. W. [Willcocks].....	15,000 acres
Sold.....	81,000 acres
Unsold.....	15,000 acres

96,000 acres

⁶⁶E. A. Cruikshank, "The early history of the London district" (*Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records*, XXIV, 1927, 151).

⁶⁷Public Archives of Ontario, *John Strachan letter book*, 1812-34, June, 1818.

⁶⁸Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Simcoe*, II, 273, Berczy to Simcoe, May, 1794.

⁶⁹Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Russell*, I, 246, Berczy to Russell, Aug. 3, 1797.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

who were sent out by the British government in 1798 under the leadership of Count de Puysaye. The British government had agreed to pay all expenses of settlement for the first three years⁷¹ and Russell was instructed to pick out suitable land and to grant it to them under the same terms as applied to loyalists and military claimants.⁷² This time the foreigners were warned that seven years' residence would be required before deeds would be issued and that any settler who left before this time had elapsed would forfeit his land.⁷³ The prospect of a French settlement was unpopular with the older inhabitants of the province. Robert Hamilton, a member of the legislative council, believed that "A separate Establishment of the *French Emigrants* in the *Woods* of this country can never succeed—They will be miserable, they will be idle, and they will certainly become mischievous."⁷⁴ His prophesy soon proved correct. In spite of all the assistance given to the settlers, the colony was doomed to failure as both men and women were unfitted for the hardships of pioneer life.⁷⁵ De Puysaye was dissatisfied with the land allotted to his followers and did nothing to encourage and much to discourage the enterprise.⁷⁶ By the summer of 1799, nearly half of the forty *émigrés* had left the country,⁷⁷ but not before they had caused Russell considerable difficulty and embarrassment.

Russell deserves great admiration for the courage he showed in handling the problem of the Indians of the Six Nations, who, under the leadership of their chief, Joseph Brant, were constantly on the verge of causing serious trouble during his administration. Russell was tremendously afraid of the Indians and dreaded the possibility of a war which Upper Canada had not the resources to face.⁷⁸ In spite of this, he handled the situation with indomitable courage and tact, wisely disregarding the advice of the council which had placed him in a position "exposed to every Consequence from Disobedience of my Royal Masters Commands and to the Odium and Responsibility of a subsequent Indian war."⁷⁹

The core of the Indian problem lay in whether the Six Nations had or had not the right to alienate their land on the Grand river.

⁷¹*Q*, vol. 286, part II, p. 492, memorial on establishment of emigrees, July 9, 1799.

⁷²*Q*, vol. 284, p. 132, Portland to Russell, July 5, 1798.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 64, minutes of the executive council, Nov. 22, 1798.

⁷⁴*Russell papers*, Hamilton to Russell, Nov. 1, 1798.

⁷⁵G. Paterson, "The professional settler in Upper Canada" (*Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records*, XXVIII, 1932, 101).

⁷⁶Lucy E. Textor, *A colony of emigres in Canada, 1798-1816* (Toronto, 1905), 46.

⁷⁷*Q*, vol. 286, part II, p. 410, list of royalists, Sept. 3, 1799.

⁷⁸Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Russell*, III, 43, J. Chew to A. McKee, Sept. 26, 1796.

⁷⁹*Q*, vol. 283, p. 156, Russell to Portland, July 21, 1797.

Brant claimed that they had the right by the original grant from Haldimand in 1784.⁸⁰ During Simcoe's administration a new deed had been drawn up precluding the Indians from selling or leasing any part of their land,⁸¹ since the government felt that to give them the right of alienation would nullify his majesty's intention of making a permanent provision for their maintenance and would leave them at the mercy of land jobbers who were already eager to buy the rich tract. Brant rejected the deed⁸² but gave the impression of acquiescing on Simcoe's suggestion that two townships be sold, the money resulting from the sale to be put out at interest for the Indians.⁸³ Immediately Brant took matters into his own hands and disposed of twelve square miles to Philip Stedman and his associates.⁸⁴ Simcoe left for England before a determined stand had been taken on the matter. Russell was firmly convinced that the policy in Indian affairs should be guided by "Love, Humanity and Justice."⁸⁵ He was genuinely distressed over Brant's demands that the sale be confirmed and deeds made out to the new owners, but since Simcoe had left no instructions he could not agree until he had consulted the executive council.⁸⁶ In the meantime he wrote to the secretary of state for instructions.⁸⁷

Russell supported the view that no alienation of the lands was possible without the consent of the king. At the same time he believed that no part should be alienated without the consent of the Indians themselves, as Haldimand's instructions had made provision for any of the Six Nations immigrating to the Grand river at any time.⁸⁸ Brant insisted that the purpose of the Indians in selling the land was not "to indulge their own extravagances" but to provide for the future by ensuring "a certain annuity beyond the reach of extravagant or evil disposed chiefs."⁸⁹ Russell, however, was convinced that they would never administer such funds successfully, that the money would soon be dissipated, leaving the Indians a permanent charge on the British government. During the winter of 1796 the tension grew. Brant threatened to go to England to place his case before the king and finally did

⁸⁰W. L. Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant* (Buffalo, 1851), II, 339.

⁸¹*Q*, vol. 283, p. 74, Brant to the Indian council, Nov. 24, 1796.

⁸²Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Simcoe*, II, 59, Simcoe to Dundas, Sept. 20, 1793.

⁸³*Ibid.*

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, III, 342, Russell to Simcoe, April 5, 1795.

⁸⁵*Q*, vol. 283, p. 66, Russell to Portland, Jan. 28, 1797.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 38, Russell to Brant, Oct. 23, 1796.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 29, Russell to Portland, Nov. 14, 1796.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 57-72, Russell to Portland, Jan. 28, 1797.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 30, Brant to Russell, June 27, 1797.

visit Philadelphia where he informed Robert Lisdon, British envoy to the United States, that if his wrongs were not redressed he would offer his services to the French in order to aid them in overthrowing the British government in Canada.⁹⁰ He accused Russell and the executive council of selfish motives in delaying justice, saying that they wished to purchase the Indian lands for themselves and their friends.⁹¹

As instructions had not arrived from the Duke of Portland by June, 1797, Robert Prescott, as well as the executive council⁹² of Upper Canada, advised Russell to take the Indian problem into his own hands, the instructions of George III having given the control of Indian affairs in Upper Canada to the person administering the government, subject to the special orders of the governor-general.⁹³ Russell now requested Brant to state in writing for the benefit of the council the wishes of the Six Nations, specifying the townships to be sold, the names of the purchasers, the price to be paid, the deposit to be given, and the amount of the annuity they wished for. When this was done the attorney-general would prepare the deeds for surrender and the grants for the purchasers.⁹⁴ Russell had previously found out that these were subjects of his majesty living in the province and not dangerous aliens as had at first been supposed.⁹⁵ On July 3, 1797, Russell wrote Brant that it was the unanimous opinion of the council that the Six Nations be given permission to dispose of their lands "agreeable to their own pleasure,"⁹⁶ providing they made a surrender to his majesty of the "Part to be alienated."⁹⁷ While Brant was trying to find a "pretext for a quarrel"⁹⁸ in the terms in which the consent was given, the long-awaited instructions arrived from England. Portland expressed his anxiety to receive information so that the government might "meet the Ideas of the Indians." He assured Russell that in the first provision on Indian lands, although the land belonged to them "solely and exclusively" forever, they were "positively restricted from alienating or disposing of it to any other Persons whatever." It could be purchased only with the assent of the government.⁹⁹

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 187, Lisdon to Prescott, April 8, 1797.

⁹¹*Q.*, vol. 79, part 1, p. 208, Lisdon to Prescott, July 31, 1797.

⁹²State "B," p. 49, minutes of the executive council, June 29, 1797.

⁹³Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Russell*, I, 113, instructions of George III, Dec. 15, 1796.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 195, Russell to Smith, June 23, 1797.

⁹⁵*Q.*, vol. 283, p. 30, Russell to Portland, Nov. 14, 1796.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 178, Russell to Brant, July 3, 1797.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 154, Russell to Portland, July 21, 1797.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁹⁹*Q.*, vol. 278A, p. 114, Portland to Russell, March 10, 1797.

Russell had hoped fervently that these instructions would take the responsibility for Indian affairs from him but the council was unanimously of the opinion that the Duke of Portland's letter did not "take the Business out of the President's discretion," that he should retain the responsibility, and that in the present difficult times with the danger of invasion from the French and the Spanish, he should not take the instructions too literally, but should use his own judgment.¹⁰⁰ Although Russell felt the "unhappy situation" very deeply, he was determined not to follow the advice of the council, but to obey the instructions of the Duke of Portland exactly.¹⁰¹

After a series of unsatisfactory meetings with Brant in July, Russell finally agreed to confirm the sale of 381,480 acres on condition that the Six Nations relinquish to the council all claim to those lands, and that the persons to whom they wished them conveyed subscribe to the declaration and take the oath of allegiance. In the presence of President Russell and the executive council, on January 5, 1788, Brant, as agent of the Six Nations, surrendered a certain portion of the lands of the Grand river to the crown, and at his request Russell signed five separate deeds for conveying the land to the persons named.¹⁰² The land was then issued to the purchasers, who paid a moderate amount down and gave a large mortgage.¹⁰³ The question of the Indian lands had not been solved, but Russell's concessions to Brant's demands had done much to lessen the danger of a disastrous clash with the Six Nations.

The most constant difficulties which faced President Russell came from his inability to gain the confidence and co-operation of his executive council. Russell was old, he moved cautiously, thought slowly, lacked imagination, was suspicious of new ideas, and disliked making decisions. The younger men of the council were jealous of his authority, resented his caution, ridiculed his personal peculiarities, and rebelled against his disinclination for action. He was constantly at loggerheads with Chief Justice Elmsley, Attorney-General White, D. W. Smith, the surveyor-general, and William Dummer Powell, judge of the king's bench. These men put every obstacle in the way to prevent Russell from carrying out his duty as Simcoe's temporary successor.

Russell's critics found their most vulnerable point of attack

¹⁰⁰State "B," pp. 50-2, minutes of the executive council, July 16, 1797.

¹⁰¹*Q*, vol. 283, p. 156, Russell to Portland, July 21, 1797.

¹⁰²*Q*, vol. 284, p. 81, minutes of the executive council, Feb. 5, 1798.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, p. 82.

in his ambition for judicial positions. A temporary commission, issued in 1794, permitted him to act as a puisne judge¹⁰⁴ since Simcoe regarded him as "a most respectable member of the Legislative and Executive Councils."¹⁰⁵ He attempted, however, to act in this capacity for the sake of the salary until the Duke of Portland withdrew his commission in 1797.¹⁰⁶ Russell's lack of legal training and consequent inefficiency¹⁰⁷ on the bench fortunately did little damage but it provided his colleagues with an opportunity to ridicule him—a unique opportunity as his ability and integrity as receiver-general were never in question.

Discontent over the inadequate salaries was a point of agreement between Russell and the government officials. They had not received the large grants of land they had been led to expect and their official duties prevented them from improving their fortunes, as did the merchants, by finding the best locations and buying land on easy terms. Russell finally persuaded the secretary of state to remedy this and he was empowered to grant to members of the executive council such a quantity of the waste lands of the crown as, including what had been granted already, would amount to 6,000 acres each, on condition that this did not establish a precedent.¹⁰⁸ These grants were free of expense with the exception of £5 11s.0d. per thousand acres for the officers concerned in passing the patents.¹⁰⁹ Russell's approval of large grants to the families of the official class was not actuated by hope of personal gain since he had only one sister. Grants of 1,200 acres to the wife and each child assumed vast proportions at a time when a family of eight children was common.¹¹⁰ When the purchases made by the officials in addition to their free grants are considered, Russell does not appear as a great landowner.¹¹¹ He profited, of course, from his knowledge of the country to secure excellent locations, but there is no evidence to show that he ever

¹⁰⁴Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Simcoe*, III, 178, Simcoe to Portland, Nov. 10, 1794.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶*Q*, vol. 278A, p. 137, Portland to Russell, Jan. 10, 1797.

¹⁰⁷W. R. Riddell, *The life of John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto, 1926), 384.

¹⁰⁸*Q*, vol. 284, p. 176, Portland to Russell, Nov. 5, 1798.

¹⁰⁹*E*, Land "D," p. 383, minutes of the executive council, July 1, 1799. Warrants to issue to:

Chief justice.....	4,800 acres
Baby.....	3,000 "
Grant.....	1,000 "
Russell.....	3,000 "
Shaw.....	3,000 "
McGill.....	3,000 "
Smith.....	3,000 "

¹¹⁰*E*, Land "B," pp. 189-90, minutes of the executive council, Jan. 3, 1797.

¹¹¹*Russell papers*, account of assessment, May 10, 1802.

owned more than 9,200 acres at one time. This is only 3,200 acres more than he was entitled to as a member of the executive council.¹¹²

Russell had hoped for the appointment of lieutenant-governor when it became apparent that Simcoe would not return to Upper Canada¹¹³ and he was bitterly disappointed when Peter Hunter received the post.¹¹⁴ Although he was made responsible for the "immediate care of everything connected with Revenue,"¹¹⁵ he was not in Hunter's confidence and younger and less experienced men were given precedence over him in the council.¹¹⁶ He was passed over again in 1805 when Alexander Grant became administrator of the government.¹¹⁷

Depreciation of land values made it impossible for Russell to realize his dream of disposing of his property and retiring to England,¹¹⁸ and he continued to live in York until his death in 1808. There he became an almost legendary figure. While carrying on his duties as receiver-general and auditor, he continued the scientific pursuits which gave an atmosphere of mystery to his life. He was a prominent member of the church and took an active part in civic affairs. In addition he was a successful farmer and dispensed lavish hospitality from a good house which he called pretentiously "Russell Abbey."¹¹⁹ An exceptionally kind master to his slaves, he even educated their children.¹²⁰ His generosity to his friends and relations was unlimited, especially to the quarrelsome and improvident Willcocks family. One of the most sympathetic aspects of Russell's character, however, is his relationship with his step-sister Elizabeth to whom his devotion and consideration were unflinching.

General Peter Hunter can be blamed to a great extent for the unfavourable light in which Russell has always been regarded. Shortly after his arrival in Upper Canada he wrote: "All members of the Executive Council are good men. But I can see that your friend P. R. is an avaricious one. So far as it depended on him, he would grant lands to the devil and all his family as good loyalists,

¹¹²J. E. Middleton and F. Landon, *The province of Ontario, a history 1615-1927* (Toronto, 1927), I, 89.

¹¹³Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Russell*, II, 37, Russell to Simcoe, Dec. 9, 1797.

¹¹⁴*Q.*, vol. 286, part I, p. 8, Portland to Hunter, April 12, 1799.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, part II, p. 402, Hunter to the executive council, Sept. 2, 1799.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, part I, p. 253, Russell to King, Sept. 22, 1799.

¹¹⁷*Russell papers*, Russell to Grant, Sept. 16, 1805.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, Russell to Simcoe, July 21, 1802.

¹¹⁹Henry Scadding, *Toronto of old* (Toronto, 1873), 33.

¹²⁰*Russell papers*, receipt from Wm. Cooper, April 28, 1799.

if they would only pay the fees."¹²¹ This opinion has prevailed, while Russell's generosity, his honesty, and his devotion to duty have been forgotten. Condemnation of all the land greed of the period seems to have been directed at him. His passion for land was treated as a joke, rather than as a menace by his contemporaries,¹²² and there is no reason to suppose that it reflected in any way on his character at the time. The other officers of government had descendants who were able to surround them with a tradition of virtue as fathers of their country. Russell left no heirs who were bound to sanctify his memory and defend his name. He deserves some condemnation. Who did not? But with the passing of time it became expedient to concentrate on him blame which should have been widely distributed.

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¹²¹Scadding, *Toronto of old*, 32.

¹²²D. B. Read, *The lieutenant-governors of Upper Canada and Ontario, 1792-1899* (Toronto, 1900), 36.

BUFFALO AS A POSSIBLE INFLUENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRAIRIE LANDS

IT has been suggested on more than one occasion that the buffalo may be in part responsible for the formation or extension of the prairie lands of the North American continent by their action in rubbing down and destroying the trees. Ernest Thompson Seton stated, for example, that there is "little doubt that the Buffalo have helped to extend the prairies, and to reduce the woodland country by rubbing down the trees. . . ."¹

A question of this character can be discussed only in the light of such evidence as we can discover: largely historical evidence. This would seem to group itself more or less naturally under three principal heads: evidence for the general prevalence of the "rubbing" practice; evidence for the existence at some time of woodlands in the "buffalo" prairie regions; evidence governing the condition of woodlands in regions where the buffalo had only penetrated in small and virtually negligible numbers, or perhaps not at all.

There can be little room for doubt as to the buffalo's fondness for rubbing, in regions where trees were available for the purpose; and it is quite certain that, where groves of trees were to be found, they were sought for shade, if not for rubbing. One of our earliest observers writes with regard to the Mississippi and Illinois river country (1679): "For the convenience of these Creatures, there are Forests at certain distances where they retire to rest and shelter themselves against the violence of the sun. . . ."² A frontiersman author of first-hand experience mentions the "Painted Woods," a well-known spot on the Missouri above the "Mandan villages" (now Bismarck, North Dakota), as a favourite buffalo retreat in the heat of the summer.³ Neither of these witnesses alludes to them rubbing down trees. Other witnesses do so, however; and their observations pertain to the same general types of country. Allen writes thus of the Cumberland river region in Tennessee: "The open space around and near the sulphur or salt springs, instead of being an old field, as had been supposed by Mr. Mausker, at his visit here in 1769, was thus freed from trees and underbrush by the innumerable herds

¹E. T. Seton, *Game animals* (New York, 1929), III, 676.

²Hennepin, *A new discovery*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Chicago, 1903), I, 148; cf. Henri Joutel, *Journeys of La Salle (American explorers)*, ed. McMaster, New York, 1922), II, 100.

³J. H. Taylor, *Frontier life* (ed. 2, Washburn, N.D., 1895), 125.

of buffalo and deer and elk that came to these waters. . . ."⁴ John Filson describes the Blue Licks, Kentucky, 1784 (in part) as follows: ". . . the vast space of land around these springs desolated as if by a ravaging enemy, and hills reduced to plains; for the land near these springs is chiefly hilly. . . ."⁵ Fortescue Cuming's "old-timer" host, Captain Waller, with reference to the same approximate period said that "about the salt licks and springs they frequented, they pressed down and destroyed the soil to a depth of three or four feet, as was conspicuous yet in the neighbourhood of the Blue Lick, where all the old trees have their roots bare of soil to that depth. . . ."⁶ (1789-1809).

In these cases, it appears to have been more a matter of "packing down" the soil by the convergence of numbers at a favoured haunt than of actual assaults upon the trees themselves. In fact, if Waller's remarks are to be considered as anything more than vague reminiscent generalizing and can be taken precisely, one would suppose that the "old trees" (which were "conspicuous yet") would have fallen and rotted long before twenty years had elapsed. We have a considerable amount of

⁴J. A. Allen, *The American bison living and extinct* (Cambridge, Mass., 1876), 114. Allen writes as though the rectification of Mausker's error were his own. Actually it is from John Donelson's *Journal of a voyage from Fort Patrick Henry on the Holston river to the French salt springs on the Cumberland river in December, 1780*; cited by Martin S. Garretson, *The American bison* (New York, 1938), 22-3. But who is our guarantor for Donelson's super-accuracy? Mausker may have been the truer interpreter.

Garretson, who is seldom critical, follows Colonel H. W. Shoemaker, who is even less critical, in glossing Clearfield, Pa., as "a space cleared by buffalo" (Shoemaker, *A Pennsylvania bison hunt*, Middleburg, Pa., 1915, 30-3; Garretson, *The American bison*, 22-3). The latter also places Clear Creek, Pa., in the same category. Now "Clearfield" is virtually pleonastic (or tautological), to begin with; for *field* is itself an open space clear of timber, a "clearing"—natural or artificial—in the woods. The countless *field* place-names of England are found thickest in the historically heaviest-wooded regions like the Weald (*weald* = wood) of Kent and Sussex, the Middlesex and Essex Weald, Sherwood, Arden, Dean, etc. What authority, then, have we for confining the place-name *field* to fields "cleared by buffalo"? There were plenty of old Indian fields in the Atlantic states; even extending into regions where buffalo had hardly penetrated; see the *Travels of William Bartram, 1773* (1791, new ed., ed. Mark Van Doren, New York, 1928), 173, 314-15, etc.

"Clear Creek" is even more preposterous. How would buffalo "clear" a creek? "Clear Creek" is the etymological significance of most of the numerous Skirbecks, Sherburns, and Sherbrookes of Anglian and Saxon England. See Allen Mawer, *Chief elements in English place-names* (English Place Name Society, 1924, 52); E. Ekwall, *English river names* (Oxford, 1928), 361, 367. Cf. the many Clearwaters and Eau Claires of this continent. Garretson (*American bison*, 20) draws attention to the numerous "Buffalo" place-names of the Virginias as proof of a former abundance there. Why not then a similar wealth of "Clearfields"? I can find only this one in the United States. See below, note 11.

⁵Allen, *American bison*, 113; W. T. Hornaday, *The extermination of the American bison* (Smithsonian reports, 1887, Washington, 1889, part II, 367-548, with map), 387. Filson—"that inaccurate and turgid amanuensis" (Archibald Henderson, in *American historical review*, XX, 1914, 86).

⁶Cuming, in *Early western travels*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1904-7), IV, 175-8; Allen, *American bison*, 113.

testimony from a number of witnesses in the period 1765-1809, as to the "great roads" worn into the Blue Licks; but the evidence has not chanced to allude to the destruction (or injury) wrought among the trees.⁷ Dr. Hornaday cites an instance on the authority of Thomas Ashe (1806), in which an old man, Ashe's informant, had his cabin in the Pennsylvania woods "rubbed down in a few hours"; apparently in two successive years, "when he first went there," which appears to signify about 1770-5.⁸ Colonel Shoemaker mentions an even more tragic affair, nearer to the end of the century. Almost the last herd in that region (Pennsylvania also) stumbled in its blind heedless fashion into a settler's cabin which stood in the way with its door open; and trampled the mother and children to death in the ruins of their home.⁹ But there is nothing, even in a terrible occurrence like that, which necessitates *absolutely* large numbers. The very prominence given by these writers (and presumably by their informants) to such episodes raises an almost inevitable presumption that they were quite exceptional. I have noted above Shoemaker's etymology of Clearfield.¹⁰ My feeble faith in Shoemaker's etymological flights is nowise strengthened by his evidence for the numbers which did these mighty works.¹¹ Nobody seems ever to have seen this process in any really unmistakable stage of deforestation. Whatever its origin, Mausker's field was "old" in 1769; and more than a decade older when Donelson so boldly pronounced the true interpretation. In the remainder of the quotation from

⁷For these witnesses and their testimony *re* numbers, see F. G. Roe, "The numbers of the buffalo" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1937, ser. 3, sec. II, XXXI, 171-82).

⁸Hornaday, *Extirpation of the American bison*, 420. For an account of Ashe's contemporary reputation as a reliable authority, see Roe, "The numbers of the buffalo," 180-1. Garretson calls Ashe "the noted traveler and writer": quite evidently a man to swear by (*American bison*, 84-7).

⁹Shoemaker, *Pennsylvania bison hunt*, pp. 30-3.

¹⁰Above, note 4.

¹¹The "last buffalo"—or one of the usual multiplicity of "last buffaloes"—was killed in Pennsylvania, *c.* 1800, at a place in "Buffalo Valley" called "Buffalo Cross-Roads" (Seton, *Game animals*, III, 658). This type of local name has furnished the school of A. B. Hulbert (*Historic highways of America*, Cleveland, 1902-5) with material for much disquisition on "great buffalo routes, with here and there a great cross road" (*ibid.*, I, 131; cf. his first two volumes, of "prehistory," *passim*). But Seton's authority, Colonel Shoemaker, says this last buffalo was killed by Colonel John Kelly "at a cross-roads, afterwards called from this occurrence, 'Buffalo Cross Roads'" (Shoemaker, *Pennsylvania bison hunt*, 40; italics mine). One wonders whether Shoemaker's own "Buffalo Path" (*ibid.*, 22, 46-7) had any more relevant origin. It is on the strength of such names as these that his "vanished millions" (*ibid.*, 10, 38) are largely built. On similar principles, an escaped elephant, re-captured on a corner, could "prove" a former abundance anywhere you please.

For a detailed analysis of the evident significance of "large numbers," "vast herds," etc., east of the Mississippi, see my paper, "The numbers of the buffalo" (171-82).

Ashe, indeed, there is no hint of the buffalo killing the trees by rubbing.¹²

In the very same year in which Ashe was in Pennsylvania (1806), the younger Alexander Henry describes a lake, south of Turtle Mountain, in North Dakota: "... at the south end, adjoining the foot of the hill, is a delightful little wood, which runs about three acres up the hill, and for the same distance¹³ along the lake. This is a great resort for buffalo and other animals, to shade themselves from the heat of the sun, and may serve as a shelter from storms in winter. The state of the ground in this little wood shows that there are always animals in it; for the grass does not grow, and the bark of the trees to the height of an animal is worn smooth by their continuous rubbing. . . ."¹⁴ Here again, we are faced by the fact that an observant resident, well acquainted with the animals of his region, makes no other allusion which throws light on the subject of our discussion. These few meagre notices constitute all that I have been able to discover in the form of positive evidence for a rubbing against the trees, sufficient to give any likelihood of bringing about deforestation.¹⁵

We have an abundance of references to the general character of the continent from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi. Again and again our authors mention "the woods," which varied from "fine groves,"¹⁶ in what is now so often termed "parkland," to what were no doubt considerable forests: outliers of the mighty woodland which in 1680 and later, spread almost unbrokenly

¹²Allen, *American bison*, 109-10; Hornaday, *Extirpation of the American bison*, 387, 420.

¹³"Distance" of *acres*; a most interesting example of the persistence in "American-English" of the old Middle-English (and later) use of *acre* and *rood*—the last still common in Cumberland—as terms of long-measure. The early English acre must be so long (one furlong = 220 yards) and it must be so wide (four roods = 66 feet: i.e., same as four *rods*). Our "superficial measure," which achieves an equivalent of 160 square rods in any conceivable shape, was not understood for centuries. Cf. the following: "A request by the North-West Company for a grant of land one acre in width [i.e., 66 feet] from Lake Superior to 'Long Lake' for the purpose of constructing a wagon road . . ." (adversely reported on by the council at Quebec, June 30, 1788) (G. C. Davidson, *The North West Company*, Berkeley, Cal., 1918, 23, 119).

¹⁴E. Coues (ed.), *The Henry-Thompson Journals* (New York, 1897), I, 409-10; cf. *ibid.*, I, 64, 99, 119.

¹⁵A tale is told, really too good to be omitted from a discussion of "buffalo-rubbing" habits. The first telegraph lines across the plains suffered much from buffalo rubbing down the poles. A high "Eastern" official, suggested driving spikes into the poles—"that'll keep 'em off!" This was done over a section, and a report requested concerning its efficacy: "Fine! they were content to wait their turn before; now they fight like hell who's to get to the poles first!"

¹⁶See on this among others, Joliet, 1673, in *The Jesuit relations and allied documents, 1610-1701* ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1896-1901), LVIII, 107; Marquette in *ibid.*, LIX, 103, 107, 161; also Hennepin, *New discovery*, II, 641-3. See also *Journeys of La Salle*.

across the eastern portion of the continent.¹⁷ This huge tract was by no means uniformly impenetrable. It has been well said that the significance of that phrase depends very largely upon what the intruder's purpose may be. For military operations—previous to such as those which in 1917 annihilated Delville Wood, at least—a very little obstructive resistance would render almost any wood impenetrable.¹⁸ Opinions, however, differ somewhat. N. S. Shaler writes as follows:

From Maine to Alabama the woods were unbroken and impassable. This great Appalachian forest was in primitive days an exceedingly dense tangle. At a few points the aborigines had worn narrow footways through it; but these trails were not adapted to pack-animals, the original means of transportation brought by the Europeans, but for the use of men who journeyed on foot, and could thus climb steeply inaccessible to a burdened beast. . . . The undergrowth of this forest country is far more dense than that which is commonly found in European lands. The shrubby plants and the species of smilax or green briar and other creeping vines make the most of our Appalachian forests very nearly impassable, even at the present day. Only once during the Civil War—in the retreat of George H. Morgan's army in 1862, from Cumberland Gap to the Ohio—did any considerable body of troops make an extended march through our trackless forests, and this redoubtable enterprise was accomplished in a portion of the Alleghany district where the woods are far more open than they are in the more eastern part of the country. Although this march extended for only two hundred miles and was partly over roads, it wore out the well-trained army which had part in it. . . .¹⁹

A. B. Hulbert, in contradistinction to Shaler, is all for the view that there was a "vast network of trails" in the forest

¹⁷"Florida" (which comprehended the whole Atlantic seaboard from Mexico northward, and inland indefinitely), "a land of woods and bogs," 1540 (*Purchas his pilgrimes*, Glasgow, 1905, XVII, 526, 531). So also "Virginia" (the same expanse), 1625 (*ibid.*, XIX, 242). "New France," 1606, ". . . the thickness of the wood and greatness of Forrests doe hinder the Sunne from warming of the ground . . ." (*ibid.*, XVIII, 275). New France also (De Monts, 1607), "These Countries are not the Plaines of Champaigne, nor of Vatan, nor the ingrateful wood of Limosin. All is there covered with woods that seem to threaten the clouds . . ." (*ibid.*, XVIII, 291). See also Lescarbot, *History of New France* (Champlain Society, Toronto, 1907-14), II, 131, 281, 321, 342, 346; III, 9, 194, etc. Father Biard, 1616, ". . . the whole country being but an interminable forest . . ." (*Jesuit relations*, III, 41). Cadwallader Colden, c. 1730, ". . . the vast forest which everywhere covers the country, and which in many places is impenetrable" (*History of the Five Nations*, in *American explorers* ed. McMaster, New York, 1922, II, 262; cf. I, 18, 180, 243). See also John Fiske, *The discovery of America* (New York, 1892), I, 250; Michaux, *père et fils*, in *Early western travels*, III, *passim*, etc.

¹⁸This has been well worked out, in reference to English medieval military history, by H. W. Mackinder, *Britain and the British seas* (ed. 2, London, 1915), 230. Cf. also Dr. Gregg's description, c. 1831, of the impenetrable forest of the Cross Timbers (Arkansas river to Red river, 97° W.) (Gregg, in *Early western travels*, XX, 217, 254-6), with the "open forest" of Irving (W. Irving, *Tour of the prairies*, 1832, 402) and R. B. Marcy, who crossed them without difficulty at five different points (*Exploration of the Red river of Louisiana in the year 1852*, Washington, 1854, 80-5). See also H. M. Chittenden, *History of the American fur trade* (New York, 1902), II, 803.

¹⁹N. S. Shaler, *Nature and man in America* (1891; new ed., New York, 1900), 195-6.

territory.²⁰ But this, as he himself shows, would do little toward opening the forests:

The bed of an Indian trail was very narrow, since made by only one traveler passing at a time. The trees and bushes encroached closely upon the path, and it was generally impossible to see ahead more than a rod or two. There were, probably, no such vistas as those along our woodland roads. Surprises were easily achieved.

The narrowness of these early thoroughfares with heavy forests on either side combined to render such passage-ways frequently impassable. Zeisberger, who came westward as a missionary for the Moravian brethren [i.e., about 1760], relates that much of the journey was accomplished on hands and knees—such was the impenetrable growth that choked the slender trails which were the only roads over the Alleghanies. It is evident that a single windstorm, in such aged forests as those which covered the country a century ago, could easily fill a narrow roadway with fallen branches, so that it would be well-nigh as impassable as the jungle itself. . . .²¹

This is borne out by historical evidence concerning more pretentious highways. Hulbert remarks elsewhere: "In the primeval forests it did not take long for a road to become impassable, if unused. Braddock's Road over the Alleghanies, cut in 1755, was impassable in 1758. . . . The Old Portage Road, cut in 1749, was cut out again in 1752 . . ." (by Marin's expedition).²² The general evidence for eastern Canada proper indicates that conditions such as those suggested above prevailed in that region also.²³ But again, further evidence suggests that both in

²⁰Hulbert, *Historic highways*, I, 23; II, 14-15, 80-1; VIII, 73-4, etc. See also Winsor, *Narrative and critical history of America* (1884-9), III, 186, etc.; Fiske, *Discovery of America*, I, 250. Otis T. Mason, "Travel" (*Handbook of Canadian Indians*, Ottawa, 1913; reprint from *American handbook of Indians north of Mexico*, 471-2). Cf. with these, D. Jenness, *The Indians of Canada* (Ottawa, 1932), 100 ff.

²¹Hulbert, *Historic highways*, II, 19-20. Unfortunately, Hulbert never tires of telling us that the historic Indian "followed the great routes of that first traveler, the bison" (*ibid.*, VIII, 17, etc.). These old routes, *c.* 1900, were still so plain that their course could be traced (*ibid.*, I, 20, 66, etc.); so also Shoemaker, "very plain after 115 years" with a photo (*Pennsylvania bison hunt*, 12, 22, 46-7). Yet about 1760, when Shoemaker's "vanished millions" were still going strong (*ibid.*, 10, 38; see his dates in my paper aforementioned, "The numbers of the buffalo," 180-2), Zeisberger, who was on "the great buffalo migration-route" on this journey (Hulbert, *Historic highways*, I, 18-134, *passim*; II, 15-20, 64; VIII, 16, 34; X, 53; XI, 26, 157, 164; XII, 25-9, etc.), had to resort to crawling on hands and knees; although "everybody knew that the buffalo-Indian trails were the best"! There is no evidence that the *historic* buffalo had penetrated into the southern states east of the Mississippi and south of Tennessee, as late as 1542. The Indian was there first. In his fervour, Hulbert (or some enthusiastic contributor) pushes his Indian trails in all directions "from the Gulf of Mexico to the country of the Eskimo" (II, 80-1), even into the canoe area. Lescarbot, Champlain, *The Jesuit relations*, also Hudson's Bay Company men, engineers, and missionaries, east of Lake Winnipeg, tell another tale. Finally, in his later delightful "composite chronicle" of contemporary sources (*Forty-niners*, New York, 1931) neither he himself, nor any single one of his pilgrims, so much as mentions the buffalo-Indian-highway-railroad supposition. Hulbert's later volumes of his great series are historic and of high value. The first two (of prehistory) are marred by contradictions.

²²Hulbert, *Historic highways*, VII, 156.

²³Father Biard, 1616, "... the whole country being but an interminable forest . . ." (*Jesuit relations*, III, 41). Charles Lalemant, 1626, "nothing but forests . . ." (*ibid.*, IV, 195). Le Jeune, 1633-6, "... a forest more than eight hundred leagues in extent

Canada²⁴ and in the eastern parts of the United States "open woods" were to be found. Two regional geographers write thus: "The coast plain forests, particularly the pine belts, were entirely open and free from undergrowth. It is incorrect to think of them as being in any sense impenetrable, though forests deserving such an epithet were found by the early pioneers who attempted to penetrate the upper Piedmont and Appalachian ridges. . . ."²⁵ This is corroborated by another high authority: "The Piedmont [of Virginia and the Carolinas] was by no means the unbroken forest that might have been imagined, for in addition to natural meadows, the Indians had burned over large tracts. . . ."²⁶

The "open woods" on the western fringe of the great territory we have been discussing are well attested. The same competent scholar gives this description:

Ohio, Indiana, southern Michigan and central Wisconsin were almost covered with a growth of noble deciduous trees. In southern Illinois, along the broad bottom lands of the Mississippi and the Illinois, similar forests prevailed. To the north, in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, appeared the sombre white pine wilderness, interlaced with hard woods, which swept in ample zone along the Great Lakes, till the deciduous forests triumphed again, and, in their turn, faded into the treeless expanse of the prairies. In the remaining portion were openings in the midst of the forested area, and the grassy ocean of prairie that rolled to west and northwest, until it passed beyond the line of sufficient rainfall for agriculture without irrigation, into the semi-arid stretches of the Great Plains. . . .²⁷

This graphic outline sketch finds historical support in many early references. Fathers Membre and Douay, in La Salle's last fatal expedition of 1686, speak of "lofty woods and groves, through which you might ride on horseback."²⁸ In the Illinois country, Father Claude Allouez, in 1672, emphasized the freedom

at Kebec . . ." (*ibid.*, V, 73, 183); "... eight hundred to a thousand leagues . . ."; "vast forests . . ."; "infinite forests . . ." (*ibid.*, VII, 107; VIII, 177; IX, 37). Vimont and Lalemant, 1644-6, "their great forests . . ." (*ibid.*, XXVII, 205, 207; XXIX, 65, 221). Paul Ragueneau, 1650, "vast forests . . ." (*ibid.*, XXXV, 265, 273, 275).

²⁴Prairie (i.e., meadow) was pressed into service by the French and by later usage, for anything from a "beaver-meadow," sometimes of a few acres only, to the great plains. In the smaller sense, probably, Father Du Peron, 1638, speaks of the Huron country as being "tolerably level, with many prairies . . ." (*Jesuit relations*, XV, 153). Doubtless also the "Prairie de la Madeleine," Montreal, was little more than an open glade in the woods. See Nicolas Perrot and Bacqueville de la Potherie, in Emma H. Blair, *Indian tribes of the great lakes and Mississippi valley* (Cleveland, 1911), I, 201; II, 81; also Cadwallader Colden, *History of the Five Nations*, I, 181; II, 44.

²⁵L. R. Jones and P. W. Bryan, *North America* (ed. 2, London, 1928), 72; on the western yellow pine forests, cf. *ibid.*, p. 163.

²⁶F. J. Turner, *The frontier in American history* (New York, 1920), 89. See also Allen, *American bison*, 86; D. Huger Bagot, "The South Carolina up-country at the end of the eighteenth century" (*American historical review*, XXVIII, 1922, 682-98).

²⁷Turner, *The frontier in American history*, 130; cf. on "oak openings" (*ibid.*, 137, 341, 346).

²⁸*Journeys of La Salle*, I, 152, 263.

from underbrush in many of the woods;²⁹ as likewise did Colonel George Croghan in 1765,³⁰ and Edmund Flagg in 1836.³¹ The common conception of the vast forests finds unconscious confirmation in the references to the "wide," "great," or "vast prairies" which confronted the early travellers in the country of the Illinois, when the enormous expanse of woodland at last began to break away through "oak openings"³² and "parklands" into stretches of treeless meadow.³³ Such expressions, which are relative and do not necessarily imply areas of really great extent,³⁴ sprang instinctively to the lips of men who had traversed a thousand miles of forest or wood-girt waterways. Charles Dickens, a century after Bonnacamp or Croghan, viewing them after the long journey from the Atlantic seaboard, calls them "immense prairies."³⁵ Audubon saw them in the very same year, 1842; but before his work was published he had seen the "Great Prairie" of the Missouri; and he designates them "the small and beautiful prairies of Indiana and Illinois."³⁶

The general results of the foregoing review would seem at first sight to point to the "groves," "open woods," "oak openings," parklands, or whatever name one may give them, being more pronounced on the western borders of this huge territory than on the Atlantic slope; that is, more numerous on the side towards which the buffalo approach was made.

But we have also seen that such open glades, and "open woods" were likewise found (a) in regions where the buffalo have been recorded in such small numbers that their influence would be negligible; (b) in other regions where buffalo had apparently

²⁹ *Jesuit relations*, LVI, 123.

³⁰ *Journal*, in *Early western travels*, I, 140; Hulbert, *Historic highways*, I, 149, 151.

³¹ Flagg, in *Early western travels*, XXVI, 211-12.

³² F. J. Turner, *The frontier in American history*, 130, 137, 341, 346.

³³ Marquette, Dablon, Allouez, 1670, "great prairies in the country of the Illinois" (*Jesuit relations*, LIV, 185, 229, 231). Dablon, Allouez, 1671, "beautiful prairies" (*ibid.*, LV, 193-5). Allouez, 1672, 1677, "vast prairies"; "great prairies which extend farther than the eye can reach . . ." (*ibid.*, LV, 199; LVI, 123; LX, 157). Marest, 1712, "... prairies stretching farther than the eye can reach . . ." (*ibid.*, LXVI, 269, 271). Diron D'Artaguiette, 1723, a "vast prairie on the Kaskaskia River"; also "beautiful wide prairies . . ." (*Journal*, in N. D. Mereness (ed.), *Travels in the American colonies, 1690-1783* (New York, 1916), 67, 68, 70. Bonnacamp, 1750, "vast prairies" among the Miamis; "vast plains," Detroit (*Jesuit relations*, LXIX, 69, 187-91). Croghan, 1765, "large savannahs" (*Journal*, in *Early western travels*, I, 140).

³⁴ Estwick Evans, c. 1818, mentions "Pilkawa Prairie," Indiana; seven miles long by three broad (*Early western travels*, VIII, 283); cf. also "The Big Prairie," Wabash river; and the "Long Prairie," Illinois, c. 1818 (Hulme, *ibid.*, X, 258, 260; Faux, *ibid.*, XI, 246).

³⁵ "From St. Louis we cross to Chicago, traversing immense prairies . . ." (*Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. by his daughter, new ed., London, 1909, 62).

³⁶ Audubon and Bachman, *The quadrupeds of North America* (2 vols., New York, 1846, 1854), II, 36; cf. Flagg (perhaps after a similar experience), in "the lesser prairies" (*Early western travels*, XXVI, 340).

never been known when the first Europeans (De Soto, 1539-42) passed through, at which time they were occupied by natives dependent in part on agriculture; and (c) in localities where buffalo of either historic or fossil species have never been recorded at all. Certain of these open spaces, moreover, are in vast expanses of the coniferous woods; and these woods wherever they occur have generally been held to mark roughly the frontiers of the buffalo habitat.

It is clear, therefore, that phenomena such as might be attributed to the buffalo in regions where they occurred were to be found in other areas where the buffalo were unknown; precisely as "open woods" may be found in older lands where herds of large and heavy animals have long been unknown, and where the forest denizens have been considered by expert opinion to have been at least as beneficial to woodland growth through the action of some species, as they were destructive through that of others.³⁷ A great portion of the historical source-material bearing on our topic is in the form of reports from missionary-ecclesiastics to their official superiors, who required guidance for future policy as well as reports of the year's expenditures in "blood and treasure" (sometimes no mere figure of speech!). When we reflect on this and also on the insatiable curiosity usually shown by educated stay-at-homes for everything about a strange land, it seems incredible that their voluminous writings would not contain more notice of the destruction of trees by buffalo if it occurred on any extensive scale.

In my view it is more probable that the prime cause of the destruction of trees was the immemorial custom of Indians in many regions, of frequently firing the country for various reasons—their primitive agricultural or economic necessities, or the demands of military strategy. It may be noted that one of our earliest witnesses records this practice among the Miamis and other tribes in the very territory under consideration, the Mississippi valley country.³⁸ The practice of using fire-cordons for

³⁷"Woods through which you might ride on horseback" were characteristic of England. See the photo of the "Haywood Oak" at Blidworth in Sherwood (J. C. Cox, *Royal forests of England*, London, 1905, 220). Such trees cannot stand close.

John Nisbet, a practical forestry expert and also a learned authority on medieval forest history, thinks that natural regeneration of the medieval woods was fostered by the trampling-in of acorns, beech-nuts, etc., by swine and cattle; but that rabbits and deer (which latter were fed branches in winter—"deer browse"—and also ate such for themselves), destroyed much; see on this, G. J. Turner, *Select pleas of the forest*, Selden Society, London, 1901; Cox, *Royal forests*, *passim*; J. Nisbet, *Our forests and woodlands* (London, 1909), 117, 159, 298, 312; cf. R. G. Albion, *Forests and sea power* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), 119. Below, note 50.

³⁸Hennepin, 1680, *New discovery*, I, 145, 146, 154; cf. Father Vivier, 1750 (*Jesuit relations*, LXIX, 209); also F. J. Turner on this (*The frontier in American history*, 89).

"environing the Deere" was noted in "Virginia" (then practically coterminous with "Florida"³⁹) in 1607;⁴⁰ in a locality where the buffalo had then probably never penetrated.⁴¹ Anyone who has lived in Alberta during the last twenty or thirty years particularly, has had exceptionally good opportunities of witnessing the rapidity with which fire can convert woodland into "prairie." In a long-grass country, the charred butts and stumps standing out above a growth which is the more rank and lush since the sun obtained free admission, are often the only visible feature which can distinguish a *brulé* of five years' standing from some adjacent tract which was never known to have been wooded. I am glad to find myself in general agreement on this question with an eminent scientist already quoted; whose work has by no means been wholly superseded by the scientific progress of half a century. Shaler writes:

³⁹Explicitly so claimed, in a *Discourse on Virginia*, 1625 (*Purchas his pilgrimes*, XIX, 228). Cf. Alexander Whitaker, 1613, "between 34° and 47° N." (*ibid.*, XIX, 112); Atlanta, Georgia, to Quebec!

⁴⁰By the doughty Captain John Smith, of "Pocahontas" fame (*Purchas*, XVIII, 444). So also among the Central Mississippi tribes (Hennepin, *New discovery*, I, 147).

⁴¹Before publishing the pleasing conclusion that the first buffalo seen "anywhere north of Coronado's route" were those seen by Samuel Argall in 1612 "almost on the site of the capital of the United States" (Hornaday, *The extermination of the American bison*, 375, 386), certain other data might profitably have been consulted. Argall's "shag-haired oxen" (*Purchas*, XIX, 91-2, 250) may not even have been buffalo at all. Allen thinks his "Pembroke river" may have been the James river (*American bison*, 86); and not the Potomac (as Hornaday, *The extermination of the American bison*). After "discovering to the head" of this unknown stream, about "65 leagues" (whatever that signifies) he "marched into the Countrie"; the even approximate distance or direction not being stated.

Even the explicit use of *buffalo*, as by Henry Fleet, 1624, who found the woods along the Potomac "swarming with deer, buffaloes, bears, and turkeys" (in Hornaday, *The extermination of the American bison*, 378; the only reference I can find to him) is no proof of *bison americanus*. From India to Russia, New France, Guatemala, Brazil, 1578-1610, *buffe*, *buffe* was used for any of the *cervidae* whose hides produced "good buffe," suitable for the "buff coat" of the cavalier or pikeman (*Hakluyt's voyages*, Everyman ed., II, 294, III, 287-307, V, 347, VI, 23, 64, etc.; *Purchas*, XIV, 487, XVI, 213, XVIII, 246, 264; Lescarbot, *History of New France*, Champlain Society, II, 281). Even "manati hides make good buffe" (Robert Harcourt, 1608, *Purchas*, XVI, 380).

I have found no mention of buffalo, "kine of Cibola," *vacas jorobadas*, etc. (of which De Soto had already heard before 1539) or anything like them, among the "beasts of Florida," from the Knight of Elvas, with De Soto 1539-42, down to the unfortunate French of 1565, or Martine Basanier of Paris, 1586; from Spanish, English, or French investigators (*Purchas*, XVII, 521-50, XVIII, 1-51, 183-6; *Hakluyt*, VI, 232-45; VII, 42-51; Lescarbot, *History of New France*, I, 121-43; III, 227-9).

In "Virginia," they are not mentioned in any of the sixteen English descriptions of its *fauna*, from 1584 to 1625 (*Hakluyt*, VI, 123, 131, 140, 170, 181, 194; *Purchas*, XVIII, 302-13, 314-20, 322-9, 329-35, 403-19, 419-540; XIX, 5-72, 109-16, 95-102, 218-67). This silence includes Argall himself, 1612 (*ibid.*, XIX, 73-84, 207-17); and Purchas endorses the clear implication—no buffalo in Virginia (*ibid.*, XX, 134). If more be required, Captain John Smith explicitly says in his *Description* of 1607, "Of beasts the chief are Deare, nothing differing from ours . . ." (*ibid.*, XVIII, 433). M. S. Garretson's brief discussion of Dr. Hornaday's assumption is one of the best passages in his entire work (*American bison*, 16-17).

Thus the deforested condition of our prairies, which gives a very peculiar physiographic condition to the central basin of the continent, is probably to be accounted for by the interference of man. It is an effect, though unintended, of the savage's action in relation to an important wild beast. If the advent of European folk in the Mississippi valley had been delayed for another five centuries, the prairie country would doubtless have been made very much more extensive. Thus in western Kentucky a territory of about five thousand square miles in area had recently been brought to the state of open land by the burning of the forests. All around the margin of this area there were only old trees scarred by the successive fires, there being no young of the species to take the place as they fell. It is probable that with another five hundred years of such conditions the prairie region would have extended up to the base of our Alleghanies, and in time all the great Appalachian woods, at least as far as the plain-land was concerned, would probably have vanished in the same process. . . .⁴²

The hypothesis of fire origin was accepted by many scientific and essentially scientifically-minded observers,⁴³ as well as by the less-educated,⁴⁴ concerning United States territories; and also—by similarly diverse minds—with reference to more than one region in Canada.⁴⁵ And it may be pointed out that in the northern woodlands, where heavier shade and colder, damper soils, make fires of the sporadic unsystematized Indian character less prone to run than might be suspected among the *conifera*; and where at the same time—partly owing to this very circumstance of the damp "moss" in which the *larvae* are deposited—mosquitoes are even more intolerable than on the plains, the suggestion of buffalo destroying the trees seems never to have been advanced.

The apparent rapidity with which large areas in the buffalo country were deforested can in my view be readily explained by the hypothesis of fire. It is much more difficult to find grounds for considering the buffalo as even a secondary cause of any material importance. Dr. Hector, "two short days" westward

⁴²N. S. Shaler, *Nature and man in America*, 186-7.

⁴³Father Vivier, 1750 (*Jesuit relations*, LXIX, 209). F. A. Michaux, 1802, in *Early western travels*, III, 221. Brackenridge, 1811, in *ibid.*, VI, 157. Dr. Edwin James, with S. H. Long, 1820, in *ibid.*, XV, 166. Gregg, 1831-9, in *ibid.*, XX, 256. Wyeth, 1833, in *ibid.*, XXI, 49. Flagg, 1836, in *ibid.*, XXVI, 162, 212, 234, 302, 342-7.

⁴⁴This was the opinion of the Illinois settlers, c. 1818 (Faux, in *ibid.*, X, 280).

⁴⁵G. M. Dawson (*in re* southern Manitoba and Peace river), in John Macoun, *Manitoba and the great north west* (Guelph, Ont., 1882), 43, 125; *Narrative of David Thompson, 1784-1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Champlain Society, Toronto, 1916), 441; Henry, 1811, in Coues, *Henry-Thompson journals*, II, 741, 743; *Harmon's journal* (*American explorers*, ed. McMaster, New York, 1922), "fires almost yearly," c. 1800 (p. 90); John McDougall, c. 1862, in *Pathfinding on plain and prairie* (Toronto, 1898), 53; *Palliser journals, reports*, etc. (1857-60, London, 1863), 7, 13, 57, 59 (i.e., Palliser); p. 83, Hector; pp. 86, 89, Sullivan; p. 245, M. Bourgeau. It is cited as an Indian tradition by A. O. MacRae, *History of Alberta* (Calgary, 1912), I, 92. Kidd's native informants denied the former use of fire by the Blackfeet, "as it frightened the buffalo from the country" (K. E. Kidd, "Blackfoot ethnography," M. A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1937, 94). He considers it was used, however. For areas with remains of ancient fire-charred trunks, c. 1800, 1880 (*Thompson's narrative*, 248; Macoun, *Manitoba*, 91, 111).

from Fort Ellice (at the junction of the Assiniboine and Qu'Appelle rivers; almost on the Manitoba-Saskatchewan boundary, near Lazare, on the Canadian National main line between Winnipeg and Saskatoon), in September, 1857, wrote as follows: "... we crossed several detached plains of considerable size, covered with clumps of very fine poplars, some of them measuring two feet in diameter, and reaching a great altitude. This is the only place on the plains where we have seen wood of any size. . . ." ⁴⁶ Professor Henry Youle Hind, in the following year, makes mention of something even more remarkable: "An old Indian . . . born in this part of the country, told us he remembered the time when the whole of the prairie through which we had passed since leaving Fort Ellice [i.e., to Indian Head, Saskatchewan, a distance westward of practically one hundred miles] was one continuous forest, broken only by two or three intervals of barren ground. . . ." ⁴⁷

It is pertinent to note that buffalo could not have been responsible for the changes. As for the statement itself, it comes within the category of direct evidence, quite fundamentally different from "tradition," whatever our views upon Indian traditions may be. ⁴⁸ Apart from any question of its truth, it would at least be admissible upon oath—from a white witness at all events—in a court of law. And if, without other reasons, it is to be rejected because of its Indian origin, this logically entails the exclusion of any and every statement from Indian sources, regardless of its character. Hind apparently saw no reason for disbelieving it; nor do I. Dr. E. H. Moss, of the University of Alberta, who has conducted some authoritative investigations into the botanical and ecological history of the

⁴⁶*Palliser journals*, 50.

⁴⁷Hind, *Report on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan exploring expedition of 1858* (Toronto, 1859), 48; cf. *ibid.*, 7, 17, 30.

⁴⁸After a careful examination of one or two, I confess that my faith in the average plainsmens' tradition—whether red or white—is very weak. See Roe, on "Buffalo and disease" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XV, March, 1934, 1-10); also "Buffalo and snow" (*ibid.*, June, 1936, XVII, 126-9). See above also, note 21. I hesitate, however, to give the name of *tradition* to Hulbert's sweeping generalizations; since among its natural custodians, the relatively illiterate "pioneer" type, I have found only one expressing this belief; a certain "unlettered Kentuckian who said [upon whose authority?] 'that the then great roadmakers were the buffler, the Ingin[?] Indian, and the Engineer. . .'" (Hulbert, *Historic highways*, I, 120). Even this man appears to have drunk freely of the flamboyant campaign oratory of Thomas Hart Benton: the only other I can find who dates earlier than about 1870! (Hulbert, *ibid.*, I, 79, 120, 137; J. M. Rogers, *Thomas Hart Benton*, Philadelphia, 1905, 50, 269, 272, 347). Washington, in 1784, criticized a selected route as being a "path which owes its origin to Buffaloes, being no other than their tracks from one lick to another & consequently crooked & not well chosen . . ." (*Washington's journal*, cited by Hulbert, *Historic highways*, XII, 22; italics mine).

province, considers the buffalo were "doubtless an important factor" as a check upon woodland growth.⁴⁹ This is inherently quite probable; and is consonant with phases of woodland history.⁵⁰ But that buffalo were enemies to regeneration, and that they were the authors of the "original" deforestation—in any material degree—are two very different arguments.

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⁴⁹Francis J. Lewis, Eleanor S. Dowding, and E. H. Moss, "The vegetation of Alberta" (*Journal of ecology*, England, 1926, 1928, 1929, 1932), part IV (by Moss), 405.

⁵⁰Dr. R. G. Albion notes a project for planting oak in Suffolk (England), 1791: "... Oak would pay, but the Crop to be Timber only, and no Cattle ever admitted ..."
(*Forests and sea power*, 119). Cf. above, note 37.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE APPOINTMENT OF SIR FRANCIS HINCKS AS MINISTER OF FINANCE IN 1869

The appointment of Hincks as minister of finance by Macdonald in 1869 created a tempest in the party tea-cup. The resignation of Rose followed that of Howland from the government, and that of McDougall hovered in the offing. Sir John was left not only without an experienced minister of finance, but with hardly a Liberal from Ontario in his cabinet to justify the claim that it was a coalition government.

When Hincks returned to Canada from his governorships in the Caribbean, Sir John seized upon him as his man for the department of finance. He also claimed that Hincks represented the Reformers, even though he had been out of the country for fifteen years, eventful ones in the realignment of Canadian parties. Macdonald well knew that Hincks had lost most of his earlier party connections, in fact this was one of the considerations that recommended the new minister to the Conservative leader. The subsequent appointment of James C. Aikins as secretary of state, December 8, 1869, added another Liberal to the cabinet.

The rapidity with which Sir John moved in this matter annoyed some of his colleagues. On Hincks's arrival at Montreal he was met by Macdonald, and they returned to Ottawa together by boat. When they reached the capital, arrangements were complete. Sir John's offer was accepted readily by Sir Francis. He was sworn of the privy council and appointed minister of finance on October 9, 1869. A seat was found for him in North Renfrew where he was returned in a by-election a few weeks later in the face of violent Reform opposition.¹

* * *

The appointment of Hincks drove Galt and Cartwright out of the party, although neither of them openly opposed the government for some time. From October, 1869, until the opening of the house in the following February, these two men endeavoured to stir up disaffection among the Conservatives against Sir John's leadership in general, and against the appointment of Hincks in particular. Both men were bitter. Galt was playing openly with the idea of annexation to the United States at this time; Cartwright was in favour of a wide measure of reciprocity. Galt had

¹Sir Joseph Pope, *Memoirs of Sir John Alexander Macdonald* (Toronto, 1930), 426-7.

never been a good party man and undoubtedly he was restless under party discipline. Cartwright was disappointed at not being selected for the finance portfolio himself, and apparently he did not know that Galt had been offered the post tentatively, and had refused it, between the resignation of Rose and the appointment of Hincks.²

There were soon signs that the disaffection extended beyond Galt and Cartwright. Mackenzie Bowell wrote to Cartwright: "I regret the turn affairs have taken very much, as it will be somewhat difficult to swallow Hincks without a very thick coat of sugar, and even then if the operation don't choke some of us I shall be mistaken."³

Cartwright informed Macdonald on October 12 that he could not support a government of which Hincks was a member.⁴ He then wrote to Galt setting forth his objections to the Hincks appointment and felt Galt out as to what steps should be taken in protest.⁵ Galt agreed that some action should be taken, but he thought nothing effective could be done until the house met, when there would be an opportunity to ascertain the feeling of other members. He displayed at the same time his growing animosity against Macdonald.⁶

At the end of October, Cartwright again set forth to Galt his objections to Macdonald's action. He was much franker in his criticism than he had been in his previous letters, and he also voiced the belief that several members of the party would support them in a protest.⁷ Galt meanwhile had felt out some of his friends on their attitude to the Hincks appointment. He was convinced that a protest would find much support, but he did not think it expedient to oppose Hincks in the Renfrew by-election as that would only serve to help the Liberal opposition.⁸ Galt explained his position to Cartwright in a letter of November 1 as follows:

Hincks appointment is felt to be an outrage upon public sentiment. The Conservative party have suffered enough by having at the Hincks-McNab coalition

²Canada, *House of commons debates*, 1870, Feb. 21, 126-7.

³Ontario Archives, *Cartwright papers*, Bowell to Cartwright, Oct. 9, 1869. At this time Bowell was editor of the *Belleville Intelligencer* and member for North Hastings.

⁴Sir Joseph Pope (ed.), *Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald* (Toronto, 1921), 100.

⁵O. D. Skelton, *Life and times of A. T. Galt* (Toronto, 1920, 436).

⁶Ontario Archives, *Cartwright papers*, Galt to Cartwright, Oct. 29, 1869: "John A's sole object seems to be to maintain himself in power irrespective of all other considerations."

⁷Skelton, *Life and times of Galt*, 436.

⁸Ontario Archives, *Cartwright papers*, Galt to Cartwright, Nov. 1, 1869. Senator John Hamilton, John Henry Pope, member for Compton who later became minister of agriculture, Colby, member for Stanstead, and Webb, member for Richmond-Wolfe, all seemed favourably disposed to Galt's plan for restraining Sir John.

been obliged to bear all the consequences of the Hincks-McNab administration. But for that, which I have always regarded as a fatal blunder—and therefore for years opposed the Government—the Liberals would have had all the odium of the Grand Trunk, Municipal Loan Fund, Seigniorial Tenure, Baby jobs, etc., and the Conservatives would have gained in the country as pure administrators, instead of being branded as corruptionists. And now after we have pretty much got over all this, John A. takes up Hincks and thereby endorses all his past career.

After what I have gone through as Finance Minister in trying to put things to rights, I cannot be compromised by support of the present arrangement. I view it as simply one to serve John A's personal interests. He thinks Hincks will go into the House and rally the Liberals against him, so he takes him into the Cabinet to prevent him doing mischief. He has, however, altogether overlooked the effect on the public & has reckoned too confidently on the inability of the Conservatives of Ontario to get another leader.

The object to be avoided is a breach in our own ranks which would only serve our opponents. This may, I hope, still be avoided, but, if no other course offers, I for one shall rather take the consequences *now* than face certain annihilation at the next election.

One important point is that I know Cartier is perfectly indifferent whether there be a crisis from Ontario causes or not.⁹

Sir John set forth in detail his reasons for appointing Hincks in a letter to Cartwright on November 17. He answered the objections raised by Cartwright, and explained the political and administrative advantages which he expected to follow the move. He also gave assurance that he had consulted several of his colleagues before acting, and he had found them agreeable to the appointment.¹⁰

All the members approached did not see eye to eye with Galt and Cartwright in this matter. Workman, of Montreal Centre, was not pleased with the course of events but he was not prepared to do anything about it.¹¹ James Cockburn, member for Northumberland, expressed the view of this group:

... I know Hincks appointment has been badly received. I too disliked it much at first but when I came to hear Macdonald's reasons for the step, I was convinced that it was wise. No doubt Hincks would have joined Brown had he not been secured, at any rate we must yield many things for the common good. What if the present Gov't. were to resign, who could succeed them? The Confederation is too new to permit a change of rulers. We cannot afford trials of new ministries. I believe the whole good work, not yet quite cemented by time, would crumble away under any other management.¹²

Some of the malcontents changed their minds about Hincks after they had been associated with him for some time. Alexander Morris, who was appointed minister of inland revenue in No-

⁹*Ibid.*, Galt to Cartwright, Nov. 1, 1869.

¹⁰Pope, *Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald*, 752-5.

¹¹Ontario Archives, *Cartwright papers*, Galt to Cartwright, Nov. 19, 1869.

¹²*Ibid.*, Cockburn to Cartwright, Dec. 7, 1869.

vember, 1869, and who had been strongly opposed to Hincks's appointment, wrote to Cartwright on December 10:

. . . I am, I may tell you *entre nous*, most agreeably disappointed in Hincks. He is affable, quick, has a large grasp of mind & is alive to the position of affairs generally. Moreover he is free from entanglements of either of his immediate predecessors & that is no slight gain. I am satisfied *you will do well to withhold your hand & wait the issue of events.* I am quite satisfied I did right in going in.¹³

Bowell in the meantime had been sounding out some of the Ontario members on the issue. While he found some who expressed their antagonism to Hincks, none of them was prepared to do much about it. Brown of North Brant was sympathetic; Reid of East Hastings and Keeler of East Northumberland were more non-committal. In reporting to Cartwright, Bowell had to content himself with restating his own position. "He [Macdonald] too readily sneers at the spasmodic evidences of independence displayed by one or two who would from political instincts rather support than oppose him."¹⁴

Cartwright, even though he realized that not many members were prepared to protest against Macdonald's actions, proposed to move an amendment to the address at the earliest possible date after the meeting of the house. He even considered moving "want of confidence in the Ministry as at present constituted."¹⁵ Galt, on the other hand, feared that the censure of Macdonald might become a fiasco which would benefit the opposition and injure his own group. He preferred "merely a verbal announcement of the withdrawal of general confidence and a protest against recent arrangements, awaiting an opportunity during the session to act if it occur, as is most likely."¹⁶

Cartwright replied to Galt as follows:

I admit fully the force of what you say. Our course *has* its dangers, but I have given the matter a great deal of consideration and I think the balance is strongly in favour of your own original suggestion, an Amendment to the Address from the Conservative side. If we do not move it the Opposition will and I for one, as well as some others, must vote for it or kill ourselves. Now if we do this we appear in a far worse light before the country, and we injure the Conservative cause far more than by a direct attack, besides damaging our future position in the party itself most seriously. It is possible we may muster only 5 or 6, but this is not a cause in which numbers are everything. More depends on who condemns this appointment than how many, and I am quite prepared to take action if Shanly, Ross, Pope, Webb, Self, and Bowell¹⁷ are united. Besides I am pretty sure there

¹³*Ibid.*, Morris to Cartwright, Dec. 10, 1869. See also same to same, Feb. 1, 1870.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, Bowell to Cartwright, Jan. 11, 1870, and Jan. 24, 1870.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Cartwright to Galt, Jan. 27, 1870.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Galt to Cartwright, Feb. 7, 1870.

¹⁷Members for South Grenville, Dundas, Compton, Richmond-Wolfe, Lennox, and North Hastings.

are several who dare not speak out aloud who will take shelter under our wing if we move at once. The case is a terribly strong one against Sir John, and to say truth I mean to join in against *him* quite as much as move against H. Then bear in mind that the only section in Ontario on which the Conservatives can really depend (apart from the Ottawa country which goes with the tide) is the central part lying between Coburg and Prescott. Here we have twenty constituencies all represented by Conservatives, and in this region which I know well, and in which the four Ontario men I named (i.e. Self, King, Ross and Bowell) have all for various causes a good deal of weight apart from our mere voting, Hincks appointment is deeply and all but unanimously condemned. Moreover we are quite as much concerned with the outside public as the House and as our appeal is substantially to them the quicker and more boldly we act the more ground we will gain in their estimation. If you think it wise to do so, you have a perfect right to act as a sort of arbiter or umpire in this matter, i.e., as between the two sections of the Conservatives and I am quite willing you should, as we by no means wish for a permanent rupture—only to read all parties a lesson. One thing I think I may venture to assure you. Whatever he may say, Macdonald is the very last man to regard an open attack from the half dozen men I have named as a slight matter or a fiasco either, even if we do not go into the lobby all alone in our glory. I do not speak without warrant. Able fellow as he is, he will have enough to do to hold his own and as for his colleagues (H. excepted) I suspect he will have precious little assistance from them.¹⁸

When the house met, the opposition attacked the personnel of the ministry, especially Hincks. They claimed he could not be regarded as a Reformer, since he did not represent any portion of that group, nor had the Reform leaders been consulted about the appointment.¹⁹ Cartwright joined in the attack, but was unable to carry the other Conservatives with him. In the debate he stated that, "all things considered he felt that thereafter he would have to take a very different course with reference to the Government from what he had done in the past. He would not factiously oppose the Government, nor the completion of Confederation, but would hereafter occupy a very different stand toward the Government."²⁰

Thus ended an incident by which Sir John displayed the strength of his party discipline. The attempts of Galt and Cartwright to embarrass him over the Hincks appointment were of little avail. They merely succeeded in reading themselves out of the party. But Alexander Mackenzie recruited a follower who was to become his minister of finance four years later.

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¹⁸Ontario Archives, *Cartwright papers*, Cartwright to Galt, Feb. 9, 1870.

¹⁹Canada, House of commons debates, 1870, Feb. 17, 72-5.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 75.

GALINÉE'S MAP OF THE GREAT LAKES REGION IN 1670

Thirty-six years ago when Dr. J. H. Coyne published his edition of Galinée's narrative and map of his explorations in the lake region in 1669 and 1670,¹ he commented upon the fact that the second and more detailed map which was sent to France late in the autumn of 1670 had disappeared. "It is of course possible," he wrote, "that the map has been merely mislaid and may reappear unexpectedly at some future time." The DeLisle portfolio in the Public Archives in Ottawa consists of a number of photostats of documents and maps selected from Portfolio JJ75 in the Archives Nationales in Paris. While studying this collection in Ottawa in June, 1938, I recognized the missing map, P-11e 75-P^{ce} 206. The outline of the newly recovered map while in the main identical with the earlier map is much more detailed, while the legends are quite different and add some new information in regard to the lake region. More especially details along the north shore of Lake Ontario have been added with a delineation of the region between the Bay of Quinte and the Georgian bay. Lake Simcoe appears for the first time as Lac Tar8nteau and the Severn river curiously enough as R de la Ronteau. There is also an interesting note on the Gandatsekiagouns portage from the mouth of the River Rouge, which the map informs us was now beginning to be used as an approach to the Sault in preference to the route by the Ottawa river. Meridian lines are marked; a line slightly to the west of the mouth of the Grand river is marked 294 with the legend "pour une ligne meridiene tire le 25 mars." Galinée's second map now recovered must have been in the hands of the geographer Danville in 1755 when he published his *Canada, Louisiane et Terres Angloises*. A comparative study of Sanson's map of 1656, DuCreux's map of 1660, and the second Galinée map of 1670 will probably lead to increased knowledge of the Indian place-names in the lake region and of the localities occupied by the various tribes in the seventeenth century.

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GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY, AND RELATED SUBJECTS

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW presents herewith its thirteenth annual list of graduate theses which are in course of

¹James H. Coyne (trans. and ed.), *Exploration of the Great Lakes, 1669-70, by Dollier de Casson and De Bréhant de Galinée* (Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and records*, IV).

preparation or have recently been completed. Included in the list are titles not only in Canadian history but also in such related subjects as Canada's imperial and external relations, Canadian economics, law, and geography, and a selection of historical titles which bear indirectly rather than directly on Canadian history.

We wish to express our appreciation of the generous co-operation which we have received from over a hundred universities throughout the British Commonwealth, the United States, France, and Canada, in the compilation of this information. We shall be very grateful to have mistakes or omissions drawn to our attention.

Theses for the Doctor's Degree

- STELLA W. ALTY, The historical demography of Saskatchewan. *Manchester* (completed).
 KENNETH P. BAILEY, A.B. California (L.A.) 1934; A.M. 1936. The Ohio Land Company of 1748. *California* (L.A.).
 ROBERT W. BARNWELL, A.B. South Carolina 1926; A.M. 1928. The loyalists of South Carolina. *Duke*.
 HARRY D. BERG, A.B. Iowa State Teachers 1931; A.M. Iowa 1936. The merchants and mercantile life of Philadelphia in the eighteenth century. *Iowa*.
 LALLA ROOKH BOONE, A.B. Texas 1917; A.M. California 1922. Captain George Vancouver on the Northwest Coast. *California*.
 ROBERT L. BRUNHOUSE, A.B. Dickinson 1930; A.M. Pennsylvania 1935. The counter-revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790. *Pennsylvania*.
 FRANKLIN W. BURTON, B.A. Toronto 1930; A.M. Harvard 1933. The Canadian grain trade. *Toronto*.
 MRS. HELEN B. BURTON, A.B. Wisconsin 1927; A.M. 1928. Joseph Chamberlain as colonial secretary. *Wisconsin*.
 MORRIS R. BUSKE, E.B. River Falls State Teachers 1934; Ph.M. Wisconsin 1937. The economic interest of the American loyalists. *Wisconsin*.
 G. F. BUTLER, B.A. Dalhousie 1933; M.A. 1934. Commercial relations between the United States and the Maritime Provinces. *Toronto*.
 JOHN DUNCAN CAMERON, B.A. Manitoba 1909; M.A. Toronto 1935. The law relating to immigration, 1867-1935. *Toronto* (Law).
 G. R. J. CARROLL, B.A. St. Mary's College, Halifax, 1936; A.M. Catholic University of America 1938. Canada in the role of an international peace maker. *London*.
 J. I. COOPER, B.A. Western Ontario 1930; M.A. 1933; Ph.D. McGill 1938. French-Canadian conservatism in principle and practice, 1873-1896. *McGill*.
 C. SIDNEY COTTLE, A.B. Whitman College 1931; M.B.A. Stanford 1934. The Canadian-American reciprocal trade agreements of 1935 and 1938. *Columbia*.
 GLENN H. CRAIG, B.A. Alberta 1930; M.A. McGill 1933. Land utilization in the arid plains of western Canada. *Harvard*.
 CLARENCE HONEYWELL CURTIS, B.A. Queen's 1933; M.A. 1934. The financial problems of government in Canada in relation to constitutional development. *Chicago*.
 WILLIAM A. DAVIS, A.B. Colgate 1935; A.M. Harvard 1938. History of the Canadian Northern Railway. *Harvard*.
 WILLIAM L. DAVIS, A.B. Gonzaga 1912; A.M. 1924. The Jesuits in the Pacific northwest. *California*.
 JESSE S. DOUGLAS, A.B. Oregon 1931; A.M. 1932. United States military posts in the Oregon territory, 1846-1898. *Minnesota*.
 F. J. ERICSON, A.B. Broadview (Ill.) 1924; A.M. Chicago 1929. Mercantilism or imperialism as a cause of the American Revolution. *Chicago*.
 JEROME CLARENCE FITZGERALD, B.A. Toronto 1917. Problems in Canadian administrative law. *Toronto* (Law).
 ALLEN R. FOLEY, A.B. Dartmouth 1920; A.M. Wisconsin 1924. The French-Canadian invasion of New England. *Harvard*.
 EUGENE FORSEY, B.A. McGill 1925; M.A. 1926; B.A. Oxford 1928; M.A. 1932. Distribution of national income in Canada. *McGill*.

- JOAN MARY VASSIE FOSTER, B.A. McGill 1923; M.A. 1925; B.A. Oxford 1927; M.A. 1931; Ph.D. Bryn Mawr 1937. Reciprocity in Canadian politics from the commercial union movement to 1910. *Bryn Mawr*.
- IRVING S. FRIEDMAN, A.B. College of City of New York 1935; A.M. Columbia 1937. British labor movement and British foreign and imperial policy. *Columbia*.
- G. M. FRITERS, The foreign policy of the British dominions. *Cambridge*.
- LILLIAN F. GATES, B.A. British Columbia 1924; A.M. Clark 1926; A.M. Radcliffe 1930. Canadian land policy, 1837-1867. *Radcliffe*.
- GEORGE D. GIBSON, A.B. California (L.A.) 1934; A.M. 1935. Jesuit educational foundations in New France. *California*.
- JAMES ALEXANDER GIBSON, B.A. British Columbia 1931; B.A. Oxford 1933; B.Litt. 1934; Ph.D. 1938. The life of Sir Edmund Walker Head. *Oxford*.
- Mrs. SHIRLEY SAUL GORDON, B.A. Toronto 1920; M.A. 1936. Canadian public opinion on the dominion's external relations. *Toronto*.
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REVIEW ARTICLE

CANADA AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS¹

IT is the custom of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW to publish annually a review article on Canada and international affairs, and a similar article on the literature of the empire, particularly as related to Canada. The large number of publications available has always made the task of the writers difficult and the choice of limits arbitrary. With the increasing confusion in world affairs, books on the commonwealth frequently deal with international problems while books on international affairs cover the position of the commonwealth. Some overlapping is therefore unavoidable between the present article and the article on *Canada and foreign affairs* by Professor G. deT. Glazebrook which appeared in the REVIEW in June.

No attempt has been made to cover periodical material on the British Commonwealth. This article is built entirely around books. Even then it has been necessary to omit much. Those books have been chosen in the field of commonwealth affairs today which are of significance or of great interest to Canadians. Since it is necessary to understand the background of commonwealth relations, a few volumes on the history of the empire are mentioned; in the main, however, the works reviewed deal with immediate problems within the commonwealth which have come to the fore as a result of the international situation.

The books published in recent months have reflected the major crises through which the commonwealth has been passing. Fewer biographies of statesmen have appeared; less emphasis has been placed upon constitutional issues which in the face of impending war appear academic. In their place broad questions of imperial unity, practical considerations of defence, of trade, and of movements of population have assumed prominence.

A few philosophic minds capable of looking far ahead of their time have analysed the very structure of empire, in pointing to the need for something larger and greater if our civilization is to last. In *The commonwealth of God*, originally a three-volume work which has now appeared as a single volume somewhat revised, the author, Mr. Lionel Curtis, who may well be called one of our empire-builders, foresees the need for larger loyalties and wishes the principle of federalism applied to nations so that political units may become bigger: national sovereignties and loyalties would be replaced by a personal union bringing with it direct allegiance to the larger unit. *Union now* by Clarence K. Streit, a Washington journalist, is a brilliant effort along the same line which calls for a union of democracies, namely the British Commonwealth, the United States, France, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland. This union would supersede the old national sovereignties which undermined the League of Nations. Unfortunately Mr. Streit in taking his long view passes too hastily over the period of transition to this union, and accepts too readily the practical possibility of its achievement.

M. J. Bonn approaches the same problem from a different direction in *The crumbling of empire*, when in speculative mood he places the modern age of empires in historical perspective. He believes that the day of growing empires has passed with the decline of colonization and that those in existence are now breaking up. He, too, sees a solution in federalism on an international scale: Robert Briffault, on the other hand, gives a much less convincing picture in *The decline and fall of the British Empire*. He bases his thesis on an intense dislike of the British ruling class.

¹For the bibliography of this article see p. 311.

Such of his criticisms as are valid are lost in a scurrilous though brilliant invective; occasionally, however, he displays real insight as when he remarks that "England is fighting and prepared to fight to the last ditch, not, as previously, a specific antagonist, a rival power, France or Germany, but a world situation made up of a multitude of entangled and contradictory factors, a situation which leaves her as yet uncertain as to the particular antagonist she may have to confront." Briffault's arguments are that Britain has always been reactionary rather than truly democratic and that she remains reactionary today in fear of a social revolution; the empire is transient and passing quickly, for like the short-lived Spanish empire it has been founded on overseas exploitation which cannot be permanent. The frequent and obvious flaws in his argument arise from a lack of comprehension of developments in the commonwealth since the Great War.

The British Empire by Charles F. Mullet covers similar ground in a far more precise and balanced fashion. No blind prejudice creeps into the author's decisions or colours his presentation. The book is packed with information in the best textbook tradition, and has the advantage of being written by an impartial observer outside the commonwealth. Mr. Mullet perceives that the chief difficulties within the commonwealth are internal, that they are to be found in each dominion, and his account brings out the similarities between the problems of the various dominions. It is unfortunate that he does not give a more comprehensive picture of these difficulties. For example, he ends one section on Canada with the sentence "By 1926 the Canadian National Railways seemed to be on a sound footing." He recognizes that the developing nationalism and economic independence of the dominions are the major problems of the commonwealth. The solution he sees in the growth of an "imperial" rather than a "British" policy. In *The struggle for imperial unity (1868-1895)*, J. E. Tyler goes back to the days of the Imperial Federation League, before the rise of Joseph Chamberlain, and traces the idea of "unity" in the sense of some form of common organization. The need for a federal system which would enable the dominions to play a real part in the formulation and execution of British policy was recognized, but even in those days a solution was made difficult by the rising economic nationalism in Canada.

The most significant general volume on the commonwealth is the report of the British Commonwealth relations conference, of 1938, *The British Commonwealth and the future* edited by H. V. Hodson. It contains sections summarizing the national interests of member nations, reports from the four round tables on national interests, economic aspects of external policy, political and strategic aspects of external policy, and the future of the commonwealth, and concludes with a brilliant summing up by the editor. All too apparent are the difficulties in the way of a common foreign policy; yet equally obvious is the need for some basis of agreement. There is no concealment of the curious contradiction by which the members of the commonwealth eschew sentiment in economic relations yet cling to it in political relations. Two ideas form the core of the volume. One is defined in the statement of a Canadian delegate: "The only way in which a united policy can emerge will be by each nation, in a spirit of enlightened self-interest, finding in its own interest a policy which really conforms with the policies of the others of the group. . . the ideas which would form the basis of co-operation are present in the different countries in quite varying degrees." The other theme is well phrased by Mr. Hodson: "The Commonwealth should be an example to the world of what it would wish the world to be. . . . The Commonwealth order, we may surmise, is only a path to a world order."

The crucial problem of imperial development, a record of a short conference held

by the Royal Empire Society in London, is a less important document, pedestrian in style but interesting in ideas, combining at times the old class imperialism with the newer liberal imperialism in almost incongruous fashion. Considerable attention is given to economic questions, and to the means of bettering human welfare by stressing consumption more than production. Political liberalism appears, too, in the thesis that imperial trade may best be benefited by reconstruction of world trade generally, rather than by direct emphasis on economic relations within the commonwealth.

In considering the development of the dominions one must take into account the themes of self-government and freedom, which are the very base of our life. The commonwealth has been explained in terms of these characteristics very adequately in *Responsibilities of empire* by Earl Baldwin, Lord Snell, and others. The book is made up of a series of coronation broadcasts dating to 1937 but has the timeless flavour typical of well-dressed platitudes intended for popular consumption. Earl Baldwin in particular possesses the ability to clothe them with fresh vigour as may be seen in *The Falconer lectures (An interpreter of England)* which he delivered in Toronto in 1939.

William Teeling, in *Why Britain prospers*, has also sought to explain British greatness in terms of the institutions and traditions of freedom which Earl Baldwin stressed. Mr. Teeling, however, has allowed conservative class bias and political prejudice to mar somewhat his explanations of liberty and tolerance.

The condition of Britain by G. D. H. and M. I. Cole presents a less assuring picture. A straightforward although depressing record of facts on social conditions and standards of living reminds one that a belief in abstract principles of freedom is not enough, and that freedom can be economic as well as political. While the volume is written by well-known socialists whose point of view is a very positive one, the facts cannot easily be challenged. Harold Macmillan, who certainly is no follower of Marx or Lenin, in *The middle way* corroborates many of the Coles' statements in his call for a planned economy to keep Britain from sliding on the one hand into fascism or on the other into communism. Mr. Macmillan's volume is not mere abstract theory but a careful and practical examination of the needs of man based on the belief that economic ills underlie many international ills and that Britain's main function should be to set her own house in order by national planning and control in a democratic system.

Royalty has not been forgotten by those who have sought to reveal the foundations on which the empire rests. The royal visit to Canada has produced a number of ephemeral volumes, in the main pictorial and narrative accounts. Hector Bolitho's *King George VI*, published in England some time ago, has, however, been placed on the market in America during the past year. It is a kindly and dignified biography, in no sense of the word critical. While it treats a worthy subject with sympathy and respect, the depth of its sincerity may be questioned by some who remember the chameleon-like attitude of Mr. Bolitho in his writings on Edward VIII. Those, too, who wish to recall the tragic end of a promising training for the leadership of the commonwealth may read *The Windsor tapestry* by Compton Mackenzie, a story of Edward's abdication which reads as well as any modern novel and better than most. Mr. Mackenzie's literary ability outdistances his logic; he frankly seeks to make a case for Edward VIII, and his rancour against the British government, which in his estimation "railroaded" Edward from the throne, is not always kept within bounds.

Personal monarchy, however, is a far from complete explanation of British development. Hiram Miller Stout adds a great deal to the explanation with

Public service in Britain, a volume displaying the hero-worship for British institutions that may be found frequently among eastern Americans. The book really is an excellent account of the development of the civil service in Britain, an account of the lofty traditions behind it, and of the class which has stocked both parliament and the civil service. Any comparison with Canada's attempts to establish an equally competent service would do more credit to the efforts of the dominion than to her accomplishments. Mr. Stout raises some interesting questions when he discusses the place of the civil service in a world where government control seems to be increasing, where civil servants are necessarily assuming legislative functions at times, and where parliaments are becoming bodies of critics rather than administrators. Charles Jeffries in *The colonial empire and its civil service* adds to the factual side of the picture with a careful and comprehensive history of the organization of the civil service in the empire. His account justifies the praise bestowed by Mr. Stout, by describing the manner in which the colonial service has been built around the trusteeship theory, leading to the development of local responsibility under the supervision of a unified civil service.

If, however, anyone assumes that perfection has reigned in the British civil service, *Warning from the West Indies* by W. M. Macmillan will level the balance. Mr. Macmillan first produced this volume in 1936 but in 1938 it was revised, brought up to date, and issued as one of the sixpenny "Penguin specials." It shows very clearly how the attempt to establish a benevolent trusteeship may fail to achieve reality. The limitations of the franchise, the semi-feudal phases of the economy, the unforgivable lack of sanitation, and the uneven educational processes as they apply particularly to the coloured population, are described clearly with a coldness that cuts. That the author's complaint was neither unwarranted nor without effect seems to be indicated by the fairly recent appointment of a royal commission to investigate the situation.

One meets, too, a well-veiled implication that Britain might have done better, in *An African survey* by Lord Hailey, although the hint is buried beneath masses of factual information on every problem in every African colonial region, whether British, French, Belgian, or Portuguese. Lord Hailey evidently feels Britain could have co-ordinated her efforts at colonial administration a little more, and could have prepared the ground better by more thorough preliminary scientific and sociological investigations. The book is so vast and covers so completely all problems, from natural resources and ethnology to education, that it is impossible to draw any single thread from it. It is clear, however, that Britain has attempted at least to develop her African colonies so that they may eventually minister to themselves. In contrast Lord Hailey describes the French system of assimilation whereby it is attempted to make the colonies a part of France. This volume of outstanding importance, issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is accompanied by two less lengthy but valuable works, *Science in Africa* by E. B. Worthington and *Capital investment in Africa: Its course and effects* by S. Herbert Frankel. Both are condensed analyses containing much fact and little prophecy or probing.

Trusteeship and subject races receive a rather curious and reactionary treatment at the hands of H. R. Abercrombie in *Africa's peril: The colour problem*. The author, a South African, sees that the African natives must be well treated but would keep them on reserves, in somewhat the fashion of North American Indians, so that the superior white races may set up that aristocratic society in which he believes. The book itself is written in a poor and somewhat jerky fashion, stringing together prejudices which overlook those principles of liberty stressed in books mentioned earlier in this review.

Canada, too, has shown a slight tendency to stress the value of white blood. *The Japanese Canadians* by C. H. Young, H. R. Y. Reid, and W. A. Carrothers, while exposing this prejudice, demonstrates that the Orientals in Canada, if given a chance of assimilation, make good Canadian citizens in the course of two or three generations; not all the "Oriental problem" of British Columbia is of the Orientals' making.

Wilfrid Bovey in *The French Canadians today* shows that he knows well Canada's most powerful minority. His sympathy for the French Canadians is very apparent throughout the book, and he explains fairly in his final chapter their attitude to the commonwealth. If the French Canadian looks abroad he prefers to look to the United States where he has many cousins. "The disturbing factor to the French Canadian is not the British Crown but British policy." Viewing Britain's own actions, the French Canadian has seen that generosity was consonant with self-interest and he sees no reason why this should not apply to Canada as well as to Britain. *Canadian papers* (series A, no. 2, and series B, no. 2) add to this description of the French Canadians, who own no rooted sentimental ties to Britain.

The best general literature of recent date on the commonwealth was produced in connection with the second unofficial British Commonwealth relations conference held near Sydney, Australia, in September, 1938, by the Royal and Dominion Institutes of International Affairs. The British preparatory paper, *Political and strategic interests of the United Kingdom* by a study group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is an excellent handbook, covering historical background and setting forth according to geographic division the facts behind British policy in regard to defence, political questions, and commerce. The book was intended to contain facts not to offer solutions and it follows its purpose well, covering both general and commonwealth interests. Two quotations demonstrate admirably the succinct manner in which important analyses are made: "Canada's attitude seems to be based on the idea that the defence of a country is a political rather than a military problem, and that it is more profitable to maintain good relations with other countries so as to avoid conflicts, if possible, and to settle those that arise before they reach the stage of war"; and again, "Every day 50,000 tons of food and 110,000 tons of merchandize has to enter the United Kingdom if the daily bread of its population is not to be interrupted or its daily work disorganized."

The corresponding Canadian contribution to the conference was the popular *Canada today* by F. R. Scott, already reviewed by Mr. Glazebrook in his article. This volume deals with Canada's commonwealth relations together with general foreign policy. The arresting summary of Canada's position in the commonwealth given in the concluding chapters lays bare the trend to Canadian nationalism and to the judgment of world problems in terms of Canadian rather than English interests. Those who disagree with some of the judgments set forth should not forget the claim—right or wrong—that there is a growing number in Canada who accept these judgments.

New Zealand's main written contribution to the conference was *Contemporary New Zealand*, written by a number of members of the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs. Here the similarity in the problems of the dominions becomes apparent. New Zealand is entering the path away from colonialism. Economically she has been a colony although signs of a more acute consideration of New Zealand's local interests are becoming apparent. Psychologically she remains a colony to a large extent on account of the lack of interest of her population in world affairs.

Britain's part, however, in the failure of the League of Nations shocked many New Zealanders into closer consideration of their relations to Great Britain, although New Zealand will fight if Britain is involved in a war. New Zealand would accept an increase of population gradually, although she is by no means certain of the extent to which she could profitably increase her population. Of one thing she is becoming certain—her destiny lies primarily and chiefly in the Pacific area.

Australia's national interests and national policy by H. C. Harris was prepared for the British Commonwealth relations conference. Again the same problems of dominion status crop up. Australia has reached conscious nationhood but still suffers from the competing loyalties of state, dominion, and empire. As with Canada, war would bring Australia to Britain's aid, yet there is a growing realization that Australia should make her own decisions and that Australian support for Britain must depend on Britain's firm allegiance to the principles of freedom and justice upon which the commonwealth has developed. Australia, however, is more open to attack than Canada and is therefore awakening somewhat suddenly to the fact that she is in the world and must be of the world. As for her population, "it is generally assumed that with carefully planned development the present population could be more than doubled without any sacrifice of present standards." Yet if Australia's population is to be augmented she may have to become less dependent on empire trade for she will need larger markets, and it is open to question whether her main empire markets, the United Kingdom and New Zealand, can absorb much more Australian produce.

Australian supplementary papers (series E, and series D, nos. 1, 2, and 4), also written for the conference, support this general impression. Australia's destiny is in the Pacific as well as being linked to the commonwealth. Should Britain withdraw from the Pacific Australia's concern with the commonwealth must diminish. "For the moment, the Empire offers the advantages of a strong defensive alliance and Australian policy tends first and foremost toward the strengthening of this. But in more normal times neither for Australia nor for Great Britain is the imperial connection all-sufficing." *Australia advances* by David M. Dow, the resident secretary of Australia in the United States, is a useful handbook of general information whose contents confirm the analyses above, while *Australia's foreign policy* edited by W. G. K. Duncan, a series of five factual essays, adds little that is new to the picture. *Some Australians take stock* edited by J. C. G. Kevin falls into the same class with the one difference that it has been written primarily as an attempt to explain Australia's position to other countries and to the rest of the empire. Of varying standards, the articles include good summaries on population, migration, and trade policy, showing again the limited ability of Australia to increase her population and her emphasis on a "white Australia" in spite of her dependence on Pacific markets. The editor has added an excellent analysis of Australian foreign policy dealing with problems familiar to Canadians, consultation, responsibility for "British policy," passive belligerency, and so forth.

Ireland in the commonwealth, prepared for the British Commonwealth relations conference, presents the clearest picture of Eire that has been written by Irishmen recently. Irish nationalism appears as a nostalgia for Gaelic culture—a yearning for the past and for the future rather than for the present. It is well demonstrated that Ireland and England have strong economic, strategic, and even ideological affiliations, and that if Britain needs Ireland, likewise Ireland needs British amity and assistance. Yet since there is no bond of common loyalty to the crown, the solution must be sought through the formal use of the crown in external affairs only.

Rather less sympathetic is *Ulster, Ireland and Britain* by W. S. Armour which, confusing past and present, blames Britain entirely for the present partition and slurs over the feelings of the Ulster majority and the differences between north and south. There is no denying the weight, however, of the reasons for ending partition which Mr. Armour advances, and in particular the heavy financial drain of Ulster on Great Britain. *Ireland—the new ally* by John Gibbons presents the same case skilfully garbed as a conversational travelogue, with incident and political comment. The author, an English Roman Catholic who claims sympathies with Britain, attempts to explain to the English the grievances that still exist by assessing Irish opinion rather than emphasizing Irish wrongs. It is an able piece of propaganda which explains the economic position of the Irish, their extreme nationalism, and the bitterness of feeling between Protestant and Roman Catholic. The revelations of Protestant intolerance in Ulster, however, are not balanced by any adequate treatment of Catholic intolerance which admittedly exists. The author, however, is not far wrong when he observes that "Three-quarters of our trouble with Ireland is that the Irishman knows far too much history and that we know far too little."

On the other side of the picture is *Ireland* by J. Chartres Molony which unfortunately harbours a scorn for the Irish and a lack of comprehension of the Irish nationalist movement. Such an attitude may be engendered in England by Irish Republican outrages but will do little to settle difficulties.

Little of major importance dealing with South Africa has appeared in Canada recently. Nor has there been a great deal on India. William Roy Smith's *Nationalism and reform in India* is a broad and impartial survey by a historian and has none of the flaws of a zeal amounting to prejudice which characterize too many of the volumes on India written by Indians.

In all these general works certain problems recur with clockwork regularity. Population and migration, trade relations, and defence seem to attract most attention. Among these defence has been paramount if one may judge from publications. Actually many of the volumes whose titles cover imperial defence treat only of the defence of Great Britain. Such a book is Major-General H. Rowan Robinson's *Imperial Defence: A problem in four dimensions*. On the other hand, *The elements of imperial defence*, the third edition, revised, of A. G. Boycott's standard work is extensive in its scope and on the whole in its detail, although revision might have been more careful. Too full of information to make for speedy reading, it is almost a handbook of empire governments, resources, and forces. Unfortunately, due to recent rapid developments of Canadian armaments, its section on Canada is very much out of date. Remarks on American policy and the Monroe doctrine are likewise based on old and at least partially mistaken assumptions, for example, "The growth of the U.S.A. Navy and American territorial expansion in the Caribbean sea are disadvantageous factors in the general strategy of the Atlantic." The judgment, however, that "the first need of Great Britain is to maintain her communications with Canada, not only for the protection of that Dominion, but to safeguard it as a 'transit' country between the Atlantic and the Pacific" is still valid. For those who seek short works on the British forces, numerous books of recent date are available. Among them are *The navy* by Admiral Sir Herbert W. Richmond, *The army* by Brigadier R. H. Dewing, and *The royal air force* by F. V. Monk and H. T. Winter. Commander Russell Grenfell in *Sea power in the next war* adds theory to fact in calling for a more balanced British navy, with less emphasis on capital ships and more on smaller craft.

The defence of Britain by Captain Liddell Hart is the principal work of the year

on problems affecting the United Kingdom in particular. Captain Hart's service as military correspondent of *The Times* brings to his volume added recognition of merit. He believes that it will in future be no simple task for Britain to bottle up an opponent by naval blockade as was done from 1914-18. The costly character of warfare especially under modern conditions makes him emphasize defence rather than offence: Britain can achieve more by providing for thorough and adequate defence than by planning costly offensive actions. The examples from past British history which are advanced to prove his case are impressive.

Norman Macmillan in *The chosen instrument* emphasizes the air arm. Britain is vulnerable only to air attack and she can withstand it only by a concerted commonwealth plan for defence, stressing air forces. Canada's part would be a major one since the dominion would be a safe and strategic location for the arsenal of empire. Donald Cowie in *An empire prepared* also sees Canada's value as a source of supplies. Mr. Cowie's volume is the best popular book of the year on imperial defence, covering as it does not only general problems but the policies of each dominion. His facts to some extent dissipate charges of complete non-co-operation with Britain hurled at Mr. Mackenzie King recently. After setting forth the type of support which the dominions might offer to Britain in war—chiefly air and naval aid—Mr. Cowie tells of the Lever visits to Canada and Australia and the gradual development of sources of supply, particularly of aircraft, in the practically invulnerable dominions. Any criticisms Mr. Cowie offers deal with the vagueness of existing plans for co-ordinated defence and even here much remains unknown.

Australian supplementary papers (series C, no. 3, and series D, no. 3) deal with Australian defence problems. There is evidently in Australia the same division of opinion over expenditure on the air arm that has been encountered in Canada. Australia, however, is in a far more exposed position than Canada and her trade routes are very vulnerable: hence some Australians anxious to maintain British power in the Pacific are not entirely opposed to the British appeasement policy in Europe which to some extent has maintained Britain in the Pacific.

It is not hard to understand this popular upsurge of interest everywhere in defence and in imperial ties when one glimpses the power of pro-British forces. *Propaganda in the next war* by Sidney Rogerson discusses possible instruments of propaganda and their co-ordination in upholding the British cause. His cold analysis of the means by which the support of the United States might be won is interesting and frank, if not tactful. *Press, radio and world affairs* edited by W. Macmahon Bell shows that in Australia as in Canada the news reaching the people comes almost entirely through channels which are strongly pro-British in sentiment, except where economic matters are concerned. *The report on the British press*, published by P.E.P., on the other hand reveals that the reporting in Britain of the overseas empire is completely inadequate. This admirable volume which maintains the high standards of previous P.E.P. works is a valuable source of information on British newspapers although one could have wished for more analysis of the political relations of the press and perhaps a little more information on government censorship.

To return, however, to the prominent problems of empire—defence of a world organization is dependent on sea power, both armed and merchant. Britain's merchant marine has suffered in competition with subsidized foreign lines. *British shipping in the orient*, the thirty-eighth report of the imperial shipping committee, while already somewhat out of date since it is based on the year 1936, throws considerable light on liner competition from Germans and Italians, and on Japan's

increased participation in the carrying trade within the Pacific area. Control necessary to Britain for economic and strategic reasons is being lost; the committee recommended new ships, greater devolution of management, better co-operation between rival British concerns, and a more even division of traffic between British and foreign shipowners. Subsidies seem an obvious necessity. *Australian supplementary papers* (series C, no. 2) describe imperial communications and transport in the same area, from the Australian point of view. More government supervision and interest are indicated here as well.

Ships carry goods, and trade within the commonwealth has become a major political factor in both Britain and the dominions. *Empire trade: A concise handbook to the markets of the British Empire* by W. H. Willson gives many facts regarding the trade of each section of the empire, but few theories. From a more local point of view *Australian trade policy: A book of documents* edited by D. B. Copland and C. V. Janes expands on Australia's economic position.

Australian supplementary papers (series B, and series C, no. 1) cover broadly Australia's relations with the world in the matters of tariffs, trade treaties, finance, and connections with Great Britain. While Britain still holds the financial hegemony of Australia and, while the British market is very important to the Australians, apparently they are beginning to wonder to what extent future Australian development is limited by the present economic dependence on Britain. *Canadian papers* (series A, no. 7) shows that Canada in this respect has developed sooner than Australia, for Canada's economic policy has long been one of more whole-hearted self-interest. Canada's particular agricultural problem of wheat is described in able fashion by G. E. Britnell in *The wheat economy*, a study of the Saskatchewan farmer. Professor Britnell does not deal at any length with the future of world markets for wheat but assumes that Canada must readjust her economy because of increased wheat production elsewhere.

Local economy is dealt with, too, at great length in *Dictatorship in Newfoundland* by T. Lodge. Mr. Lodge was one of the British commissioners appointed to take over the foundering Newfoundland government. Britain, believing Newfoundland's ills rested in local corruption, failed to recognize what soon became apparent to Mr. Lodge, that the real trouble lay in the attempt to maintain an economy based on fish in a world where there was a permanently decreased market for Newfoundland fish. The British secretary of state in effect overrode the commission and presented misleading pictures to parliament in London; therefore Mr. Lodge resigned and now brings a strong indictment against Britain's handling of Newfoundland. Canadians will be interested but not surprised by Mr. Lodge's judgment that Newfoundland does not naturally form a unit with Canada.

Another local economic problem is described extensively in *Land utilization in Australia* by S. M. Wadham and G. L. Wood. A historical survey, a summary of natural factors influencing the use of land, and a study of major industries lead up to conclusions regarding future development which do not encourage greatly those who plan a much larger population for Australia. "Whatever the standard of living accepted by the inhabitants, four-fifths of the country could not be settled much more densely because of rainfall deficiency or other factors. . . . It may be, indeed, that the amount of land which is adaptable to the conditions of closer settlement is not even excessive when the probable needs of the present population at its natural rate of growth are considered." There may be some possibilities in more intensive and more diversified farming. The authors, however, remind us that population increase is also dependent on the flow of capital into a country, on export markets and world conditions generally.

Australian supplementary papers (series A) also hold that no large-scale increase is possible. A few immigrants might offset the declining birth-rate. New settlers might go into industry which would then need either a greater export market or greater government assistance. "It is by closer settlement and the intensification of the present utilizations within the limits of the more densely settled areas of the present day that the opportunities lie; the pioneer areas remain in a pioneer state because they are handicapped by definitely poorer resources, not because they are the latest settled areas." *Australian standards of living* by F. W. Eggleston and others considers population with particular reference to the tariff and to economic theory, and explains popular beliefs held by Australians. *Rural Australia and New Zealand* by Edmund de S. Brunner is a simple volume summing up the points explored in the more intensive studies already mentioned. Urbanization, rainfall, the "white Australia" policy, and intensification of agriculture are described in a popular fashion which may appeal more to the man on the street than do more exhaustive studies in the field.

Dealing with New Zealand, Mr. Brunner is less concerned with immigration, probably because he found there less general acceptance of the need for immigration. His concern is, to a large extent, with the Labour government and the guaranteed price system for the farmers which seems to be piling up New Zealand's debt. *The future of immigration into Australia and New Zealand*, a symposium edited by W. G. K. Duncan and C. V. Janes, adds more to the picture of New Zealand although covering the same ground in regard to Australia as works already mentioned. The articles vary in outlook, but are uniformly vague about possibilities and therefore not particularly encouraging, although filled with information regarding past policies and present economic positions.

Australia seems to have been the centre of interest as far as immigration is concerned. Even general works such as *Empire opportunities: A survey of the possibilities of overseas settlement*, a fairly reliable volume of information published by Blackie, reflect this trend. Little has appeared on settlement in Canada, apart from *Canadian papers* (series A, no. 1) which contends that Canadian policy in regard to immigration must be based on Canada's economic position and that if Canada is to absorb many more settlers her economic position must improve. In Canada, as in Australia, there seems to be little hope of reviving large-scale immigration.

Constitutional problems, while apparently less in the public eye, are by no means forgotten in commonwealth relations. Persons interested in the indivisibility of the crown and the old Austinian doctrines will find food for thought in Horace Emerson Read's *Recognition and enforcement of foreign judgments in the common law countries of the British Commonwealth*. Documentary material of great value is published by the British foreign office in *Constitutions of all countries*, vol. I: *The British Empire*. In *Die Rechtliche Stellung der Britischen Dominien beim Abschluss Internationaler Verträge* by Robert Maemecke we are given proof that the Germans are seeking to keep up to date in their understanding of commonwealth relations. The author gives a clear enough picture of constitutional relations and the development of autonomy in the dominions. He is, however, mainly interested in treaty-making, and his discovery that the dominions possess the power to conclude their own international agreements appears throughout the book with the frequency of an attractive new idea. The author is obviously interested in neutrality and stresses the position of Eire and South Africa in this respect.

The foremost general volume of the year on constitutional relations, however,

is A. Berriedale Keith's *The dominions as sovereign states*. The reader will find much of Mr. Keith's earlier works on the commonwealth offered again in more up-to-date setting. Unfortunately the stresses of 1938 and 1939 have so influenced Mr. Keith that his discussions became tinged with his detestation of the Chamberlain appeasement policy. Thus his analysis of "isolation" feeling in Canada would be truer of 1937 than of 1939. Mr. Keith's strength of feeling leads him to call for more positive definition of dominion positions and policies. On less immediately controversial issues he is as usual excellent in his analyses. Allegiance, rights of secession, neutrality, declarations of war, the non-unity of the commonwealth in common law, all receive his attention. Perhaps he stresses legal arguments to the detriment of practical considerations, in dealing with neutrality and secession, but his reasoning is sound. Canadians will find interesting his account of the Byng incident, and clear if not original his statement of the relations between provincial and federal parliaments in Canada.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71: Being a History of Rupert's Land (the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory) and of the North-West Territory (including the Pacific Slope). By ARTHUR S. MORTON. London, Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. N.d. Pp. xiv, 987. (\$6.00)

THIS imposing volume represents the patient research of many years. In the absence of foot-notes or documentation of any sort, it is not possible to trace in detail the sources of Professor Morton's information, but the range of his research is self-evident. Years of investigation in the Public Archives of Canada and in the Hudson's Bay records in London to which Professor Morton was one of the first to obtain access are reflected on every page. A number of "long shots" which Professor Morton still maintains, and a multitude of details which the careful reader would like to check up, add spice to a truly ambitious and scholarly project. Here is the first successful attempt on anything like this scale to deal with the history of western Canada as a whole in a single volume. There are 932 pages of text—about half a million words—and the story closes at 1871. Luxuriating through some of the most picturesque materials in Canadian history in leisurely detail which every author will envy, Professor Morton has now finished his congenial task, and hosts of friends who have admired his industry will congratulate him upon the result.

There are "three North-Wests," but for the period under review they were unified, in defiance of geography and their ultimate destiny, by the economy of the fur trade. "Looked at in the broad," Professor Morton maintains, "it is all one story." But in the end other economies had to prevail. The technique which the United States developed so successfully in Texas and Oregon carried much of this area, and threatened to carry more of it, into the republic. The expansion of Canada to the Pacific was the counterpart for a transcontinental British dominion. The man-made unity of the fur trade was after all highly artificial and transient; and its disruption is self-evident as the story draws to a close. The last three chapters diverge into the conventional story of the entrance of Rupert's Land, the "North-Western Territory," and British Columbia into the Canadian confederation.

Two preliminary chapters deal with the geography and ethnology of the area, and with the European approach. In chapter III the rise of the Hudson's Bay Company is traced in fresh perspective from the records in the Hudson's Bay Archives. The search for the western sea, the Dobbs controversy against the company in England, and the conflict with New France are outlined in chapter IV. In chapters V and VI the conflict between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian fur trade of the North West Company—the central theme of the book—is brought down to the coalition of 1821, and is illustrated by a wealth of excerpts selected with great discrimination. This is a well-trodden field but Mr. Morton has recaptured admirably the atmosphere of the fur trade, and there is an intimate touch throughout not only with the materials he is using but with the geography and indeed the topography of the whole area.

After 1821, the story loses something of the intimacy and detail of the earlier period. Chapters VIII, IX, and X trace the fortunes of the fur trade, the Red river settlement, and the Pacific coast down to the union of Vancouver island and the mainland of British Columbia. The "drift towards Confederation" is in many respects the least convincing section of the book, while the closing two chapters

trace the disturbances at Red river in 1869-70, the transfer of Rupert's Land and the territory beyond in 1870, and the union of British Columbia with the dominion in 1871.

It would be possible to list a dozen aspects of this long story which Mr. Morton has told with superlative effectiveness, and with shrewd appraisals here and there of men and events. Groseilliers was the "silent man of decision" and Radisson "his publicity agent, in the limelight" (p. 51). The story of Captain Knight's wild venture ending, as Hearne was to discover nearly fifty years later, on the bleak shores of Marble island, is correlated with the company's business policy. Thereafter the stock of the company stood at £103,950 until the coalition of 1821—all represented by capital and profits actually invested "in sharp contrast with the speculative stock sold to a gullible public by the South Sea Company" (p. 141).

It would be hard to find a more effective account of life at York Factory and indeed of the whole technique of the Hudson's Bay fur trade than the pages in chapter IV when Rupert's Land finally became British. The technique of the North West Company (pp. 348 ff.) is equally well though less sympathetically done. The story of the struggle between English and French for the fur forest of the hinterlands is more favourable to La Vérendrye than the author's earlier article in the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. The charge of La Vérendrye's own day that he was merely a "fur-trader masquerading as explorer" is so far disposed of that his name is linked in the end with that of Champlain in staking out a vast empire for France in North America. "Together they made France masters of little short of a continent" (p. 205). The loss of Canada destroyed "the perspective in which to see the real greatness of La Vérendrye."

The territorial claims of the company and their final vindication are convincingly upheld throughout. The specious claims of Canada which characterized and long survived the period of conflict are disposed of, it is true, largely by *ex post facto* evidence. It was the Canadian contention that since the Treaty of Ryswick reduced the company's domain to a few posts on the bay, the Treaty of Utrecht recovered the vast territory to the height of land not for the company but for the crown. Mr. Morton points out truly that every implication at the time and since favoured the Hudson's Bay Company—"all parties accepted it that the Company was simply coming back into its own" (p. 109). He might have added that Queen Anne herself in her commission to Kelsey authorized him to retake possession not only "for Us and In Our Name" but "for the use and benefit of the Govr. & Compy of adventurers of England trading into Hudsons Bay." With this basic truth in the history of the Hudson's Bay Company Mr. Morton develops in their true perspective the vices as well as the virtues of the Montreal fur trade—the ruthless exploitation of the *voyageurs* and the Indians, the exhaustion of one fur-producing area after another until the Athabaska and the Pacific slope alone remained. For both of these the Hudson bay route offered decisive advantages. From beginning to end the Canadian traders, with superlative courage and resourcefulness, were fighting against geography, and they were beaten in the end. The coalition of 1821 was in effect an almost unconditional triumph for the Hudson's Bay Company.

The attempts of Alexander Mackenzie, Duncan McGillivray, and others to secure access to the bay for a foray to the Pacific is another intriguing theme which might have been followed through the whole maze of strategy and counter-strategy resulting in the coalition of 1821. This still remains one of the obscurest aspects of the conflict, and it underlay the whole basic policy of the company after the union.

Professor Morton's estimates of men and events are usually fresh and interesting. He has a good word for Governor Bulger at the Red river settlement (p. 656), though he accepts with little qualification the North West estimates of Governor Williams. The attempt, abortive though it proved, to colonize Vancouver island after the Oregon fiasco is seen in its true importance. That the areas west of the Rockies "are British to-day" is due to the British government and the Hudson's Bay Company "working together to establish a colony in a vacant island at the farthest limits of the Empire."

In a survey of so vast an area over so long a period of time many aspects must remain controversial, and there are many "long shots" where the careful reader, in the absence of documentation of any sort, is left to query the statement or to seek more conclusive evidence. Mr. Morton regards it as "certain" that Kelsey in his journey to the interior in 1690 followed the same route as Henday and Cocking in 1754 and 1772. Since Kelsey simply went with the Indians on their return trip from the bay, the Indian route described by the French after the Treaty of Ryswick is by far the nearest contemporary evidence. Henday's aim in 1754 was to develop a "back door" to the bay in order to avoid the French outposts altogether. Professor Morton identifies Knight's "Mountain Indians" with the Mandans and maintains that they visited Hudson bay again and again until 1721. The author's favourite theory that the Red river settlement was established "to provide the Company's forts with provisions" (p. 422) is less than half the whole truth in the company's policy, to say nothing of Selkirk's. The company naturally expounded this plausible thesis in their correspondence with the government. They could scarcely admit a far more fundamental strategy, to establish the validity of the charter which was impugned at that time not only by their trade rivals but by the government itself. The settlement was opposed from the outset by Superintendent Auld in Rupert's Land, by "every Gentleman in the Service, both Hudson's Bay and North-West" according to Simpson after the union, and by Simpson himself until persuaded of its usefulness as a method of disposing of the supernumeraries in the fur trade at the coalition. Mr. Morton qualifies his original thesis in the preface and elsewhere, but the subtler function of the settlement in vindicating the most easily defensible feature of the charter—the proprietary right to the soil on which legal opinion was agreed—as a bargaining factor in dividing the field with the Nor' Westers is borne out by almost every subsequent aspect of Hudson's Bay strategy. This is particularly true of the Athabaska campaigns; and indeed without it Hudson's Bay strategy is almost meaningless.

Professor Morton still maintains his thesis (pp. 466 ff.) that Duncan McGillivray anticipated David Thompson and "conducted in person the exploration" to the Columbia and back by the Athabaska pass. The evidence, he concedes, is "inferential and therefore to some extent precarious," but the conclusion is retained despite Dr. Tyrrell's article in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW of March, 1937, and Duncan McGillivray's own *alibi* which has since been discovered. David Thompson, who is denied both vision and energy in his work on the Pacific, receives very critical treatment. Selkirk as "a shrewd man of business" scarcely commanded the same tribute either from Lady Selkirk or from Colville who ought to know; and his course at Fort William which Professor Morton defends was regarded by Selkirk himself as "wretchedly ill-judged" and by Lady Selkirk as his "great mistake." Sir George Simpson held sway for the longest period of time, over the widest range of territory, and with the most autocratic authority in the history of British North America, but his character and in many respects his policy still remain an enigma. Perhaps the greatest defect of the book is akin

to its greatest virtue. So ample is the local detail that the contributing factors from Canada, Britain, and the United States—often decisive in their effect—are very inadequately outlined. This is particularly true of the reorganization of the company in 1863, which still remains one of the "blind spots" in Canadian history. The "drift towards Confederation" (chap. xi) was in truth a thrust rather than a drift, and it was generated by the most expansive forces of the nineteenth century in the United States.

These, however, and many other problems are to be expected in a work of this size and prodigious detail. The index is admirable though the selected source-material in the appendix is not included. Finally there are twelve maps, unpretentious in form but exceedingly useful. The good cause of research in Canadian history will profit much from this scholarly achievement.

CHESTER MARTIN

The University of Toronto.

Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report. Edited by E. E. RICH. Foreword by Lord TWEEDSMUIR. Introduction by CHESTER MARTIN. (The Publications of the Champlain Society; Hudson's Bay Company Series I.) Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1938. Pp. lx, 498 (xiii).

THIS is the first volume issued under an arrangement by which the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, in association with the Champlain Society, plan to make public the more important documents in the company's archives. It comprises the *Journal* (July 30, 1820-June 19, 1821) and the *Report*, dated Fort Wedderburn, Athabasca lake, May 18, 1821, with copious notes and appendixes and four maps. It is further enriched by Professor Martin's introduction, a luminous and wholly admirable epitome of conditions in the fur-trade frontier for the period immediately before and following the arrival of Simpson.

An illegitimate child, Simpson was born about 1787. He was carefully reared by an aunt, who saw that he received a fair education. At twenty-two years of age he arrived in London, where he entered the counting-house of his uncle, Geddes Mackenzie Simpson. Here, or a little later, when he found employment with the Hudson's Bay Company, he attracted the attention of Andrew Colville (born Wedderburn), a member of the company's committee and later governor of the company. Through Colville's influence he was promoted, and early in 1820 he was sent to Canada as governor in chief *locum tenens* (or deputy) of William Williams, governor in chief of Rupert's Land. Conditions in the fur trade were chaotic. The long strife between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company had brought about the seizure and destruction of property, violence, and bloodshed. Repeated efforts to form a union of the companies had failed, and the outlook for the older company was dark. To this young man, who confessed himself a "greenhorn," and who was wholly unacquainted with the new country except for such knowledge as he picked up from the reports he had handled, was given the formidable task of combatting the aggression of the North West Company and establishing system and order in his own. He had, however, as was promptly to be revealed, a clear head and an ample store of confidence and determination, and he was to prove himself the master of a most difficult situation.

His first post was remote Fort Wedderburn. In later days of trade unions and labour relations boards he would have been confronted by vexatious obstacles. In

his own day he was, within certain limits, his own master; the world was all before him, and he proceeded to mould to his own desires that part of it to which he was assigned. He believed in scant pay, long hours, hard work and plenty of it, as well as sharp bargains with the aborigines and even sharper ones with his rivals. His first recorded complaint is of the "exorbitant wages" demanded, though he takes pride in the belief that the wages to which his own employees agreed were "lower by one-fourth than any other Gentleman in the service" could have imposed. Scant pay, however, was not the only means of profiting at the expense of the men. In his first express to the governor he asks for an "abundance of trifles to suit their palates and fancies and lighten their pockets," and later mentions the "enormous profits on goods sold to the Canadians" (the *voyageurs*). Had he been amply provisioned, he writes, the company could have regained a fourth of the wages paid at Fort Wedderburn during the winter of 1820-1, especially by selling spirits at £18 sterling per gallon. No mode of fattening the profits of the company escaped him, and no fault or laxity on the part of his men went unproved.

In his relations with others he was not insensible to the value of guile, and he termed flattery, when judiciously employed, "a very cheap commodity." He recognized, however, the necessary limits to the use of deception, and virtuously he vowed that "Finesse [by which obviously he meant double-dealing] should never and will not be resorted to by me except in extraordinary cases." Of his rivals in the North West Company he entertained a very low opinion. "Blackguards and bullies," as well as many other names, he called them—sometimes by name and sometimes in the lump—and he complained that he was "surrounded by a parcel of the veryest miscreants under the Sun."

With the aborigines, especially the Chipewyans, he had small patience, and for them no regard. "Philanthropy," one reads with some amusement, "is not the exclusive object of our visits to these Northern Indians." There is nothing in his *Journal* to indicate that it was even a minor object. He saw no merit in schooling the red man; he regarded an "enlightened Indian" as "good for nothing," and he believed that all Indians should be ruled "with a rod of Iron." He recognized, however, the value of the Indian women. "Connubial alliances," he wrote, "are the best security we can have of the good will of the Natives. I have therefore recommended the Gentlemen to form connections with the principal Families immediately on their arrival."

He believed that by proper management the Nor'Westers could, within a short time, be driven from the field, and he strongly opposed the negotiations for a coalition. It was to come, however, within a year after his arrival on the scene, and furthermore, it was to prove an act of inestimable good fortune both to the company and to himself. In 1826 he became governor in chief, supreme in the field. With all faction silenced and with his own guidance of affairs unchallenged, the united company grew constantly in strength and harvested increasing profits. Thrift and method, vigorously applied, had taken the place of laxity and bungling, and dividends rose to an astonishing height. They had been 4 per cent in 1821; by 1828 they were 20 per cent, and by 1838, 25 per cent.

It is plain that this devotee of success who so brilliantly attained his goal was not of the type of Horatio Alger's story-book boys. He had his own standards and methods, not mentioned in the conventional counsels to ambitious youth, and sternly he enforced them. Thus the humble clerk in a London counting-house became, within a brief period, the most trusted agent of his company in a remote wilderness, and later therein its supreme representative, untroubled by arbitrary orders or pestering countermands from the home office. It is not too much to say,

with Professor Martin, that he "probably combined the widest range of authority with the widest range of territory and the largest tenure of power ever enjoyed by one man in North America," and further that he "is perhaps the greatest figure [better, the most imposing figure] yet to be essayed in Canadian biography."

W. J. GHENT

Washington, D.C.

The Canadian Railway Problem: Some Economic Aspects of Canadian Transportation and a Suggested Solution for the Railway Problem. By LESSLIE R. THOMSON. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1938. Pp. xiv, 1080. (\$12.50)

THE principal conclusion reached in this prodigious study is that a solution of the Canadian railway problem is to be found in a scheme of common management "bringing the two constituent railway systems together on an equal footing." It is proposed that a common board should be created in one of several ways to manage the two roads for a term of years and to operate "the two railways as if they were one great railway system." After, say, a ten years' trial of this scheme the alternatives suggested to the dominion parliament are a continuation of common management "or even that the intimacy of unification should be increased looking to a single amalgamated company." What suggestions are made about how the lines could be unscrambled if common management did not come up to the author's optimistic expectations and the Canadian people were unwilling to accept amalgamation, are relegated to appendix x.

The general preconceptions underlying this exhaustive and exhausting study appear to be those common in financial circles in eastern Canada. The insistence upon the virtual impossibility of operating a state enterprise in competition with a private corporation, the political nature of the boards appointed by various administrations to manage the Canadian National Railways, "the rather deplorable type of some of the directors chosen," the intense competition offered by the Canadian National Railways to the Canadian Pacific Railway, the burden of debt that the present operation of the Canadian National Railways is imposing upon the dominion treasury; these and similar ideas that have assiduously been placed before the public in recent years are here elaborated extensively. Not that the author, according to his lights, makes a biased presentation; he is critical of certain aspects of the Canadian Pacific Railway policy as well as of the Canadian National Railways. But the controlling ideas are easily identified. If Sir Edward Beatty has led the attack in favour of tying the two railways together, Mr. Thomson brings up the heavy artillery.

The spotlight is centred again and again on the faults and errors of the Canadian National Railways, the most being made of the adverse findings of the Duff commission. "The red thread of extravagance" is quoted from time to time and the "extravagance and recklessness of the Canadian National Railways" are frequently emphasized.

When one turns from general ideas to the more technical aspects of the study, one can have nothing but admiration for the thorough and competent analysis of the operating performances and financial results of the two systems. The author's penetrating study of Canadian Pacific Railway policies is a distinct contribution to Canadian railway literature. With regard to the Canadian National Railways he reaches the conclusion that "the operating and managerial skill of the Canadian

National Railways is roughly equal to that of the Canadian Pacific Railway." With regard to the Canadian Pacific Railway he pays tribute to its "record of magnificent accomplishments in world service rendered for more than half a century."

While pointing out that the special object of his study is not history, the author devotes a chapter of 72 pages to sketching in the historical background to the present railway problem. The earlier history is passed over quickly and 63 pages are left for the period between 1900 and the present. The treatment is nearly as full as that given by Mr. Glazebrook¹ who covers these years in 103 slightly smaller pages. Mr. Thomson's treatment is less dispassionate. His history appears to be coloured by the general conclusions he has reached. Such sub-headings as "twin transcontinental fever," "rail fever and madness," do not appear in Mr. Glazebrook's volume. Nevertheless Mr. Thomson gives a vivid picture of the last forty years in Canadian rail development and readers of Mr. Glazebrook's study can read with interest another account of the same period written from a less detached point of view.

It is a pity that Mr. Thomson did not confine himself to a volume designed for specialists only. It is stated that chapters I and II were written to provide the hasty reader with a brief outline of the problem and a digest of the conclusions reached and of the recommendations made. Should these prove too long for him, the last 4 pages of the first chapter give a second and even more condensed résumé of the whole study. Then on page 669 it is intimated that chapters VI and VII had each been prepared in such a manner that they might be republished separately. The result of these varied aims is that there occurs an appalling amount of repetition. When on page 895 the author brings up for the eighteenth time the subject of bankruptcy in regard to the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Railways, the reader is inclined to cry: "But one half-penny-worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack." This, however, would be unfair to the author, but in over-writing his subject he has cut down the number of readers who will have the patience to pursue his study to the end.

The volume is produced on a grandiose scale: 1,080 pages; 1,027 foot-notes in small type; 185 tables; 47 figures or graphs; 14 appendices; 14 chapter outlines; an index of tables; an index of figures; a general index; 9 supplementary indexes; 3 bibliographies.

D. A. MACGIBBON

Winnipeg.

Canadian-American Relations, 1849-1874. By LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE. (The Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History; J. T. SHOTWELL, director.) New Haven: Yale University Press. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 514. (\$3.25)

THIS is the first volume to be contributed by an American writer to the historical section of the comprehensive survey of Canadian-American relations now in progress under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It

¹G. P. de T. Glazebrook, *A history of transportation in Canada* (New Haven, Toronto, 1938).

will bring added credit to a series which has already earned the respect of students, for it is a decidedly original and valuable contribution to the literature of the subject. Professor Shippee's book is learned, vital, and readable; it will have to be consulted by every student henceforth who approaches the very significant period in the relations of the United States and British America with which it deals.

It is not, it is true, quite so comprehensive as the title might lead one to expect. It is not a synthetic study, but one based almost exclusively upon original sources. In the nature of things, it is impossible for the author, within the compass of one volume, to make a thorough examination in this manner of every issue that arose in a singularly eventful quarter-century. Some questions, therefore, receive much fuller treatment than others. Broadly speaking, the book's most important contributions fall into two long sections, at the beginning and the end, concerned primarily with economic issues—one on the history of reciprocity before and after 1854, and one on the making and implementing of the Canadian sections of the Treaty of Washington of 1871; both are major contributions to our knowledge of these matters. The intermediate period, including the American Civil War, is less thoroughly dealt with. Occasionally the author seems to resort to the technique of dredging up an isolated original document and using it as a vehicle for a whole situation: the method's shortcomings appear when we find a Macdonald letter of 1866 misdated 1865 and used as evidence for conditions in that year (p. 215). Even in this section of the book much important unpublished evidence is produced; yet the reviewer occasionally found himself wishing (perhaps ungratefully) that Professor Shippee had here been content to synthesize the work of other students and produce a more complete if less original study. One non-economic matter which has not greatly interested the author is the San Juan crisis of 1859; here he has relied on the published American documents, which do not happen to reveal the most important factor in preserving peace—the sanity and forbearance of the British naval officers. A note (p. 112) explaining the absence of any reference in the text to the Crimean enlistment controversy, explains that while it was certainly part of British-American relations, "there can be no ground for believing that generally any responsible person on either side of the frontier thought that the unfortunate event had the slightest bearing on the relations between the United States and the British North American Provinces." Yet surely an incident serious enough to cause the despatch of large military reinforcements to Canada, and considerable defensive preparations within the provinces, has some "bearing" on Canadian-American relations? This reviewer wishes he could be as optimistic as Professor Shippee seems to be concerning the possibility of segregating Anglo-American and Canadian-American problems in separate compartments; it would make his own labours much simpler.

The book is always producing new and interesting facts. It is well known, for instance, that the phrase "Dominion" of Canada was substituted for "Kingdom" from regard for "Yankee" susceptibilities; but the present writer has not before seen it demonstrated that Sir Frederick Bruce, the British minister at Washington, actually made representations in the matter (pp. 196-7). Incidentally, we also see the same official in the character of a good imperialist, urging strengthening the British tie with Canada, alive to the need for filling the Hudson's Bay Company's lands with settlers, and reporting by the way that he has actually heard Secretary Seward suggesting to an American capitalist that he form a company to buy out the H.B.C. (pp. 194, 200, 303). Of many quotations from Sir John Macdonald's letters, not the least interesting is his private admission that the Americans have a very strong case in the San Juan dispute (p. 361 n.). The volume contains an unusually ingenious and informative map.

The author has made excellent use of the British foreign office photostats in the Library of Congress, has combed the published congressional documents and the manuscript papers of various American statesmen, and has got useful material out of newspaper files. He has, on the whole, explored Canadian sources less fully than American; we miss such obvious items as the Grey-Elgin correspondence, and not a great deal is done with Canadian government documents. A very notable exception, however, is the author's use of Sir John Macdonald's papers. With their aid he makes, in the final chapters, an important contribution to Canadian history.

Professor Allan Nevins contributes an introduction containing some sweeping generalizations whose assurance is occasionally in contrast with more cautious judgments in the text. The present writer is disposed to question, in particular, the statement that "The decision of the Canadian and American peoples to accept their separation and to make the most of it was taken, half consciously, half unconsciously, in the crowded decades" dealt with in the book. He believes that this would be very difficult to prove with respect to either side of the border; and in any case it could be supported only by examination of the periods preceding and following that treated in the present volume. Nor does the remark that "The Canadians occupy a halfway house between the British Commonwealth and the Republic" appear particularly happily phrased. If Mr. Nevins had written "between the United Kingdom and the Republic" it would have been more to the point; and this, perhaps, was what he really meant.

C. P. STACEY

Princeton University.

Conference on Educational Problems in Canadian-American Relations. Edited by RISING LAKE MORROW. Held at the University of Maine, Orono, Maine, June 21-23, 1938; under the joint auspices of the University of Maine, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Orono, Me.: University of Maine Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 248.

The Next Step in Canadian Education: An Account of the Larger Unit of School Administration. By B. A. FLETCHER. (Studies of the Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie University.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1939. Pp. xviii, 202. (\$2.00)

These Sixty Years. By WILLIAM FERGUSON TAMBLYN. London, Ont.: University of Western Ontario. 1938. Pp. iv, 135.

THE conference on educational problems in Canadian-American relations was held under the joint auspices of the University of Maine and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and was similar in general aim to those on Canadian-American affairs held in 1935 and 1937 at the St. Lawrence and Queen's universities. Dr. J. T. Shotwell, whose support was a large factor in its success, spoke impressively on the Canadian-American peace tradition, and Dr. Henry F. Munro, superintendent of education in Nova Scotia, followed with a scholarly address on Canadian-American reactions to world politics. The emphasis of the conference, however, was laid upon the educational problems which the two countries have in common, especial attention being given, as was partly due to the locality of the conference, to those of the Maritime Provinces, Quebec, and New England. Such matters were dealt with as the kind of teaching, for example in history, that is given in the high schools of both countries, the influences of teacher-training institutions,

of colleges with their largely one-way movement of students and professors, and of adult education.

Attention may be drawn to two valuable papers, one by Mr. D. C. Harvey, archivist of Nova Scotia, the other by Professor A. R. Foley of Dartmouth College. Mr. Harvey outlines the struggle that went on between British and American ideals in the formulation of an educational system in Nova Scotia and in the other provinces as well. It was an effort to train citizens of British North America as a part of an imperial system under an established church; whereas in the United States, the system was democratic and republican. Mr. Foley dealt at some length with French-Canadian contacts with New England. His conclusion was that though there is continuing close contact between Quebec and New England and a cultural solidarity between those of the same race in both countries, there are signs that this French-American solidarity is, from some points of view, weakening, and that there is a slow but gradual assimilation into the American way.

The purpose of Mr. Fletcher's book is to show that the most urgent problem in Canadian education is an administrative one, that of the development of a larger school unit. A review of the rural conditions of the provinces shows that any advance in elementary education, not to mention secondary or vocational education, is possible only on the basis of wider administrative groups. At present, children in most rural areas do not get the quality of education which they might get under co-ordination of effort, and at no increase of cost but with greater equity of taxation. There is inequality of opportunity between rural and urban areas, and, owing to great economic differences, between the provinces. Moreover, present rural conditions in many parts result in a lowering of the standards of the teaching profession, as many teachers serve schools which, because of the poverty of the district, cannot be cultural centres.

A review is given of the experience of Scotland due to the introduction of a larger administrative unit, of parts of the United States, and of sections of New Brunswick and British Columbia; as well as a more general account of what is taking place in the other provinces. The last chapter is devoted to the results of a survey in one county in Nova Scotia. These recommendations emerge from the collective experience described in the book: "The creation of a single financial unit of the whole province, of a new county Board of Education to be the main administrative and planning unit, particularly for a new type of rural high-school, and of the retention of the old district Board with wide educational powers, but powers that in practice would be exercised largely in proportion to their own interest and efficiency in education."

This is an arresting but sane and suggestive study of social conditions, so far as they arise from lack of realizable education in large rural centres in all the provinces. Looking on the bright side, the author points to a path to an enriched rural life and a more real democracy throughout the dominion, the first step being a feasible improvement in administration.

Professor Tarnblin's pleasantly written little book is intended, as stated on the title-page, to present "An unconventional chronicle of the lives, the faith, the labour and the comradeship that have gone into the building of 'Western's' household of learning." While it is officially sponsored and is based on complete records, the narrative is intended by its details of human relationships to recall, especially to graduates, the foresight and patience of founders, the faithfulness of teachers, and the intimate life of undergraduates. For other readers, the story will be an interesting chapter in the history of Canadian universities, containing many features that recur in the rise and growth of most academic foundations in the older

provinces. More distinctive of the life of "Western" is the absence, during its originating years, of controversy, and the leadership given by broad-minded men who created a civic interest on behalf of the struggling institution, and secured substantial local help as well as aid from the provincial government; with the result that the city of London now possesses a university with imposing buildings on a beautiful site, and draws to itself a large attendance of students from some of the richest districts of Ontario, who have good reason to be proud of the academic standing of their *alma mater*.

ROBT. A. FALCONER

Toronto.

The Rise of Anglo-American Friendship: A Study in World Politics, 1898-1906. By LIONEL M. GELBER. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. [x], 292. (\$5.00)

MR. GELBER has adduced little actually new information on Anglo-American relations in the years 1898-1906. Only printed sources appear in his bibliography and foot-notes, and he has not explored public opinion in either country. But his study in diplomacy is nevertheless valuable since it places well-known events in a new configuration, stressing throughout the steadily improving relations of the British Empire and the United States.

At odds with France and Russia, and with Germany threatening to become dominant and ambitious for control of the seas, England could not, at the close of the century, safely adhere to her policy of isolation. Her departure from that policy resulted eventually in the alliance with Japan and the *entente* with France and Russia, but in the meantime Great Britain had deliberately and consistently sought the friendship of the United States. Mr. Gelber places the turning-point in Anglo-American relations in 1898; it might better be placed in 1896 with the settlement of the Venezuela boundary dispute. Thenceforward, whether the foreign office was occupied by Salisbury, Lansdowne, or Grey, the wooing of the United States went steadily forward. The first substantial evidence of the new policy was Great Britain's friendly neutrality in the Spanish War of 1898 and her definite encouragement of American expansionist ambitions in the Caribbean and the Pacific. In return she asked and eventually received support from the United States for her policy in the far east—her opposition to Russian and German aggressions in China—though the purely verbal nature of that support necessitated a quest for an ally who would do more than write notes. The ally was found in Japan, but as Mr. Gelber shows, the conclusion of this alliance by no means diminished the British desire for cordial relations with the United States. In the revision of the alliance in 1905, the United States was the only outside power consulted, and great care was taken to adapt the terms of the treaty to American susceptibilities.

Meanwhile the chief causes of Anglo-American friction—the isthmian question and the Alaska boundary dispute—were being amicably adjusted. Here there was a suitable basis for compromise. For British concessions on the isthmian canal, where the United States had no legal case, that country might well have traded concessions on the boundary, where her legal case was strong. The British and Canadian governments sought thus to connect the two controversies, but the United States would not consent. With the senate insistent upon complete abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and full American control over the canal, and with congress threatening to remove the question from the sphere of diplomacy

altogether, the British government yielded and the final Hay-Paunceforte treaty gave the United States everything it asked. The United States might now have afforded to be generous about the Alaska boundary, but on this point President Roosevelt became as intransigent as any senator, and the outcome was the farcically "judicial" settlement of 1903, by which the United States again won all, at Canada's expense. While not sparing Mr. Roosevelt in his treatment of this episode, Mr. Gelber feels that "somehow good" resulted, since on the one hand the episode contributed to the movement toward the British Commonwealth of Nations while on the other it helped assure American support for England and the empire in 1917. The settlement of these disputes and the acceptance by Great Britain of the Monroe doctrine in connection with the Venezuelan affair of 1902-3 enabled her to withdraw her naval contingents from the western hemisphere for concentration in home waters. The Monroe doctrine and its support by the growing navy of the United States now actually became a shield for British imperial interests.

The remaining chapters of the book follow the course of Anglo-American relations through the perplexing days of the Russo-Japanese War and the Moroccan crisis, a period during which the efforts of Kaiser William II to break up the new friendship reached the peak of their intensity only to fail ignominiously. In the Moroccan affair Mr. Gelber is, if anything, too kind to Rooseveltian diplomacy.

Recent writers in the United States have emphasized the degree to which in these years American policy was moulded to conform to British interests and have been at least sceptical about the value to the United States of her embarkation upon the sea of far eastern politics. Mr. Gelber, naturally enough, emphasizes British concessions, which were by no means negligible; his chief criticism of American policy is that traditional isolationism and senatorial obstructionism prevented more complete co-operation with Great Britain in a world theatre. His ideal, for that day and this, is a collaboration of the English-speaking peoples "for their own welfare and for that more universal welfare from which it is inseparable."

Stylistically Mr. Gelber's valuable study is slightly marred by his addiction to a transposed sentence structure—"By Congress, in the dark period of the Boer War, Great Britain's hand was being forced"—which becomes objectionable by over-use.

JULIUS W. PRATT

The University of Buffalo.

The Rise of American Naval Power, 1776-1918. By HAROLD and MARGARET SPROUT. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 398. (\$3.75)

If this book had a sub-title, it should read, "The slow progress toward adequate naval defence of the United States, if not of North America." In a careful historical analysis the authors discuss whether United States interests have been, and by implication are, best served by passive coastal defence coupled with commerce raiding during war or by unified fleets composed of capital ships supported by auxiliaries, operating within limited areas, in an effort to secure command of the sea. Controversies over types of fleet organization, over departmental organization and policies, and over personnel are described. Into all this there is woven an historical narrative of changes in American naval policies and of the rise of American naval power, determined as that has been by the rise of United States interests in Europe and in Asia. It is an excellent book.

The emphasis placed by the United States upon defence of the Atlantic seaboard

before 1817 was matched in part by the attention given to the Canadian frontier. Success in securing Lake Champlain in 1776 accounted for Ticonderoga in 1777, whereas failure to secure command of the lakes at Kingston and the St. Lawrence river to Montreal in 1812-14 accounted for American failure to win Canada. After 1817, American attention was diverted almost exclusively to the Atlantic, in which area there applied to British North America, as to the United States, Jefferson's dictum that to assail this continent, only a small part of European naval forces "will ever be risked across the Atlantic. . . . They can attack us by detachment only." British North America was doubly safe from attack from Europe so long as the British navy remained supreme in its own waters. Her very isolation rendered Canada secure and her colonial status rendered a Canadian navy unnecessary.

Although the authors make no direct reference to Canada in the period since confederation, much may be inferred. For instance, with the coming of dominion status, two circumstances assisted between 1900 and 1914 in stirring Canadian interest in naval defence. One was the imperial defence movement. The other was the emergence of the United States as a world power. The increase of American naval strength and the pursuit of an aggressive policy in the far east during the Taft administration, resulted in the development of a defence policy for the Pacific as well as for the Atlantic. By implication, from the moment that the United States became an imperial power, Canada had to marry herself to American naval policy—a policy which counted on a continuing friendship with Great Britain.

The Great War taught its lessons too, the chief of which was that he who would attack this continent successfully must have a fleet so powerful and bases on this continent so adequate that he can command the western Atlantic or the eastern Pacific, and at the same time retain control of his home waters. Thus was Admiral Mahan completely vindicated. It remained only for Americans and Canadians alike to digest this lesson of the Great War.

ALBERT B. COREY

The St. Lawrence University.

Co-operation at Home and Abroad: A Description and Analysis. Vol. I: 1908-1938.

By C. R. FAY. London: P. S. King. 1939. Pp. x, 540. (18s.)

THIS is a significant work and a welcome addition to Professor Fay's important volume, *Co-operation at home and abroad* (1908) which has become one of the classics amongst our all-too-meagre literature on the subject. It is an excellent survey, which not only brings up to date the first edition but greatly widens the scope by the inclusion of several other countries, such as the British dominions visited by the author. It was wise to allude only briefly to the Union of South Africa—which the author could not visit—since this preserves for us the value of the work as a first-hand investigation by the writer.

Part I discusses some of the wider issues of co-operation as a world idea. Part II gives us a history and excellent interpretation of consumers' co-operation in Great Britain and in a dozen other countries. Chapter VI forms a valuable supplement to the report on *Consumers' co-operation in Great Britain* by a number of English scholars. Exception is taken to the report's condemnation of the movement's departure from the Rochdale tradition of political neutrality and a number of reasons is given for this action which might impress even Albin Johansson, the great advocate of political neutrality for Sweden's co-operators. Chapter IX is similarly valuable for it provides us with the Ariadne thread which will lead us

out of the mazes of the labyrinth so that we can know what is happening in reality to the co-operatives in the totalitarian countries—Germany, Italy, Russia.

Part III deals with agricultural co-operation in the English-speaking countries. Chapter XVII, on Canada, is of special interest to Canadians. Whereas in England the movement was built upon the foundation of consumers' co-operation, Canada's needs caused her to begin with agricultural co-operation. The depression, however, has taught Canadian farmers that they can exist upon their reduced money incomes only if they add to their marketing the co-operative purchasing of their requisites for the farm and the home. The urban workers have made the same discovery, so that consumers' co-operation is coming into its own. The author refers with admiration to the new movement in the Maritime Provinces under the bold leadership of St. Francis Xavier University, built upon the foundation of study clubs after the Swedish model. The extraordinary achievements have become as world-famous as those of the wheat pools. Part IV deals with Scandinavian co-operation and the example of Sweden is held up as a proof that the difficult problem of the relationship between producer and consumer co-operation can be solved and that the conflicting groups can be brought into a measured agreement. Part V is a supplement in which a survey is given of the post-war developments of agricultural co-operation in Europe by the staff of the Horace Plunkett Foundation—of which Professor Fay has been chairman since 1934.

One other fact makes the book significant. The recent growth of the movement has been so phenomenal that the author has found it impossible "to keep his original study up to date by corrections and supplements." It required a book of 540 pages. This is a proof that the existing *débâcle* has made some of our best thinkers lose faith in the old patterns of our economic and social institutions. Unwilling to go to the extreme of either fascism or communism, they have turned to co-operation, the middle way, as the better alternative, if we wish to assure economic security and social stability. Co-operators are to be congratulated that they have found in so eminent a professional economist as the author, a man who has the vision of the vast possibilities of their new way of life and who has a sympathetic understanding of their problems and aspirations.

JOHN G. PEROLD

The University of Toronto.

The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759. By GUY OMERON COOLIDGE. (*Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, n.s., VI (3), September, 1938.) Brattleboro, Vt. Pp. 143-313. (75c.)

IN the troubled days of Indian feuds and intercolonial wars, the Champlain valley was less a place of settlement than a waterway of travel. Consequently the history of the valley has usually been written as incidental to greater themes. The late Professor W. H. Crockett essayed a *History of Lake Champlain . . . 1609-1909* (new ed. 1937) that long served a useful purpose, although students found only general references for the sources used. In the volume under review the author writes primarily as a Vermonter and carries the story to the end of the French régime. Although Vermonters ordinarily give little attention to the history of the valley prior to the Seven Years' War, this monograph reminds them that for a century and a half France was influential or indeed dominant in most of that area. They do well to recall their Gallic past. Today one-seventh of the state's population is French Canadian or of French descent. Most of these people are doubtless late

arrivals rather than descendants of the original frontiersmen who in 1759 followed northward the retreating French army.

Beginning with Champlain's visit in 1609, the author records the journeys of French priests, the furtive passing of Indian war parties, the despatch of punitive expeditions against the Iroquois, the establishing of trading and military posts, and the raids and counter-raids of the intercolonial wars. The sources for the first century are doubtless meagre, but the treatment here, in the reviewer's opinion, is too fragmentary. Canadian readers will be most interested in the last generation of the French occupation when the greater part of the east and west shores of Lake Champlain was granted as seigniories. Many of the grants reverted because of non-development and were regranted to others. A score of seigniories on both the Vermont and New York sides of the lake are shown on a map and thirteen of them are described. Some became rather thriving settlements despite English and Indian raids. The history of the seigniories is closely related to that of Fort St. Frederic (Crown Point). Established in 1731 and later developed as a fortress, this was the southernmost stronghold facing the English in that region until the construction of Carillon in 1755. Military and clerical records are exploited for a description of St. Frederic and the neighbouring settlements. There is a photograph of a scale-model of the fort made from the original plans. At the French withdrawal in 1759, forts and settlements were left in ruins. The military aspects of the collapsing French régime are not recorded. Appendices list French routes through Vermont, the governors and intendants of New France, and the commandants and chaplains at St. Frederic.

The Vermont Historical Society, now a centenarian, is doing exceedingly creditable work on meagre resources. Considering that the state legislature curiously discontinued its grant several years ago, the editor of the quarterly *Proceedings*, Professor Arthur W. Peach, and his associates, are greatly to be commended for their progressive policy. The monograph under review, although not the work of a seasoned historian, is a useful, well-documented study. A bibliography should have been included, especially as some of the citations lack precision.

CLARENCE W. RIFE

Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn.

Mgr Lafleche et son temps. Par ROBERT RUMILLY. (Collection du Zodiaque deuxième.) Montréal: Editions du Zodiaque. 1938. Pp. 425. (\$1.00)

THE greater number of ecclesiastical biographies emanating from the French-Canadian press are simple eulogies with slight interest for the student of history. This book is not of that character. The author is far from disrespectful of his subject but he gives his readers a well-rounded portrait of a prelate who had in fullest measure all the virtues as well as all the faults of the French-Canadian clergy. In the course of his long and active career Mgr Lafleche proved himself to be a devoted and courageous missionary, a skilful teacher, a capable administrator, and an unswerving adherent of truth and right as he saw it. Indeed he was made of the stuff of martyrs, saints, and, as one of his contemporaries pointed out, heretics in the grand manner. Honest, obstinate, fanatical, he had no talent whatever for compromise and considerable mistrust of those, such as Laurier, who had.

M. Rumilly has written more than a biography. The second part of his title is well observed. Indeed it could hardly be otherwise in writing about a bishop

whose pastorate was no simple matter of devotions and diocesan affairs but who was constantly in the thick of political struggles, both secular and clerical. In over four hundred closely packed pages the author gives his readers a concise and interesting political history of the nineteenth century in Canada, especially as regards the province of Quebec.

As a young priest Mgr Lafleche read Rohrbacher's history of the church. The influence of this work together with the example and writings of Bishop Bourget of Montreal convinced him once and for all of the correctness of the ultramontane position from which he never retreated. A visit to St. Paul in Minnesota impressed him with the danger to the faith implicit in the Anglicization or Americanization of French Canadians. Accordingly as early as 1866 we find him writing an essay entitled "Some considerations upon the relation between civil society, religion and the family." This essay contains, in brief, the entire statement of the political philosophy that was to determine his subsequent public activities and was to have a considerable influence upon political history in Quebec. Briefly his ideas were these: the French Canadians are a true nation because they have the necessary unity of language, faith, manners, and institutions. Every nation has a divine mission and theirs is to leaven the new world with the Catholic faith. Authority comes from God. The best form of government is limited monarchy (as in the church and the family), the most imperfect is democracy. The fundamental liberal error is the attempt to construct a society upon non-religious principles. Voters have a divine duty and the clergy have the right to guide their political choices.

These views of Mgr Lafleche were in perfect accord with those of Bishop Bourget, and upon the latter's retirement, the Bishop of Three Rivers became the acknowledged and intransigent leader of ultramontanism and anti-liberalism in the province. As such he was ever in the vanguard of those who fought against every tendency toward liberalism, Catholic or otherwise, and whether within the church or not. As Bishop of Three Rivers he sought to secure the transfer to that city of Nicolet Seminary, of which he had been superior, so as to ensure control of its personnel and policies. He fought vigorously against the proposal to divide his diocese and when the Vatican decided against him the blow was almost mortal. He fought Laval University and its former rector, Archbishop Taschereau, because of certain liberal tendencies he feared were corrupting that institution. He was an ardent supporter of the ultra-clerical "*programme catholique*" which would have reduced the voters to the status of rubber stamps operated by the bishops. He protested bitterly against the subsequent disputed elections cases based upon undue influence by the clergy. His quarrel with Archbishop Taschereau was so prolonged and bitter that it compelled the intervention of the Vatican upon more than one occasion and even though the decisions were uniformly against him, Mgr Lafleche was convinced only that the Pope and his advisers had been misinformed. He interested himself in the Manitoba school question, which brought him into conflict with Laurier. It was an ironic fate that brought him to his death-bed at a time (1898) when both Canada and Quebec had Liberal administrations.

M. Rumilly has based his biography and history upon a careful research among the newspapers, pamphlets, and correspondence of the period as well as upon the memories of actual witnesses in a few cases. It would appear that he has covered the field exhaustively and well. In particular he may disabuse some of his readers of an over-simplified notion of French-Canadian political parties. There were several shades of *rouge* and *bleu*, and at one time the Conservatives were as badly split internally as is Mr. Roosevelt's Democratic party today.

In conclusion the reviewer would like to express the hope that M. Rumilly will

long continue his researches into the history of French Canada, and to note that the usefulness of his books to students would be greatly increased by the inclusion of an index.

MORLEY AYEARST

New York University.

L'Institut Canadien de Montréal et l'affaire Guibord: Une page d'histoire. Par THÉOPHILE HUDON. Montréal: Beauchemin. 1938. Pp. 173. (75c.)

HERE again we have the story of l'Institut Canadien and its long struggle with Bishop Bourget. Father Hudon gives an unusually complete account of the Guibord case, reviewing the arguments at length and roundly condemning the final decision as based upon error and prejudice. The appendix contains several interesting little biographies of the persons involved. For the rest, the author can add nothing to the existing record except his strong personal reactions to the personalities and debates of seventy years ago. In the reviewer's opinion he is unfairly critical of the zealous young radicals who dominated the institute and formed the nucleus of the *parti rouge*. If not very learned, they were eager for instruction; if their flowers of eloquence seem merely comic today, styles have changed; if they defied their bishop, they displayed a very remarkable courage, even if, as Father Hudon would say, they were wrong in their defiance.

The author indicates that the institute was founded largely for the indulgence of what he considers almost a French-Canadian vice, public debates. Perhaps a more important reason for its popularity was the fact that it provided the eager youth of the day, for the first time, with a large and unexpurgated library.

One is inclined to wonder why Father Hudon has chosen to rattle once again the bones of the famous Guibord. Possibly he finds in this old story a salutary warning for modern young people who might tend to ignore clerical advice and succumb to radical notions of foreign origin.

MORLEY AYEARST

New York University.

Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, Records: Colonial and "Saintongeois." Collected and edited by WILLIAM INGLIS MORSE. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1939. Pp. xiv, 118.

WITH the author's opinion that "DeMonts has not received due credit for his ventures," every scholar will agree. Indeed to this far-seeing and broad-minded Huguenot is due the establishment at Port Royal in 1605 of the first permanent colony in America north of Mexico, as well as the foundation of Quebec in 1608 and, nevertheless, the story of his life still remains untold.

In some way to fill the gap—biographical and historical—Dr. Morse has published the present volume. He has not attempted—to our regret and loss—to write a life of de Monts, but by dint of diligent and intelligent research work, combined with a "detective bureau of information," he has unearthed new material—printed and manuscript—concerning de Monts. To such material as a nucleus, he has added a list of all known documents relating to the Saintongeois nobleman. The result is a volume somewhat technical, but of substantial interest to the historical fraternity if not to the ordinary reader.

The volume opens with a most valuable bibliography describing over two hundred documents concerning de Monts, the essential ones being printed at full

length, including his fine but little-known letter to Louis Hébert in 1617. Then comes an informative introduction, followed by the text of three original documents owned by Dr. Morse, one being the legal memoir in a law-suit and two salary receipts. The volume ends with interesting genealogical details and charts completed by photographs and descriptions of chateaux having belonged to the de Monts family.

The volume constitutes an essential contribution to the career of de Monts, which no historian of the period could leave unused. Published by Quaritch, the volume is remarkably well printed and carries an index.

G. LANCTOT

The Public Archives, Ottawa.

St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish. By HORACE MINER. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press [Toronto: The University of Toronto Press]. 1939. Pp. xx, 283. (\$3.00)

THIS study represents the results of an experiment in the ethnological investigation of a rural community which, though largely isolated from, is nevertheless a part of, western urban civilization. As such, it is a testing of the methodological approach so successfully applied by Dr. Robert Redfield to the study of Mexican communities. But it is further, even though incidental to the primary purpose of the author, a contribution to the understanding of the social life and culture of French Canada and in this respect is of considerable interest to Canadian scholars.

Dr. Miner has disregarded the traditional points of departure, and, utilizing the objective techniques of the ethnologist, has concerned himself with the basic cultural life of a single French-Canadian parish. The results are both refreshing and instructive. [To the extent that St. Denis is typical, the reader is provided with a comprehensive and scrupulously honest picture of rural life in Québec. The close dependence of the *habitants* upon the land, the social and economic importance of the rural French-Canadian family, the role of the church in the social and moral life of the community, the yearly round of activities, and the life-cycle of the inhabitants, are here described with a wealth of detail which does credit to the industry as well as understanding of the author. Running throughout the book, and formulated in clear-cut fashion in the final chapter, is the problem of social change—the slow but irresistible adjustments of the parish to the demands of outside civilization. However, as the author points out, the institutional controls which maintain social stability in St. Denis, notably the church, are part of the social structure of the larger French-Canadian society, and new traits and social attitudes, as a result, tend to be introduced through established institutions, in striking contrast to the social disruption in primitive communities which come in contact with western civilization.

While, however, the study makes a distinctive contribution to the understanding of French-Canadian culture, it may be questioned whether it demonstrates a successful application of the ethnological method. Mr. Miner has been rigorously faithful to Redfield's approach, and herein lies the chief weakness of the study. The ethnologist, in investigating a primitive community, feels compelled to describe every feature of social life, since most features are strange to us and therefore must be described in order to be understood. But many features of social life in St. Denis are characteristic of rural society throughout the western world, particularly North America; others are characteristic of Catholic societies, particularly those which are rural. It is tiring to be presented with pages of description of methods of hus-

bandry, the daily round of activities, the nature of the Catholic mass, etc., which are familiar to the general reader. The ethnological equipment which Mr. Miner brought with him provided him with few tools by which he could search out that which was significant and distinctive, and discard that which was commonplace. That is not to say that commonplace features are of no importance, but only that they need not be described in such tiresome detail since they are part of the equipment of a much wider society.

It might be suggested, however, that the present study reveals the weakness of the ethnological method, not only when applied to sociological fields of interest, but even when applied to the investigation of primitive society. It may be that the ethnologist, dealing with the unfamiliar, has been too little concerned with what is significant. Field studies of primitive communities reveal features which are novel to us and consequently of interest. Their description, however, may be of little value to social theory.

Certainly, when applied to a field of study such as the parish of St. Denis, the ethnological approach is devoid of a sufficient body of theory to make the results of its application of considerable significance. The same criticism, with greater reservations, may be levelled against many sociological studies. The discipline of the sociologist saves him from some of the pitfalls into which the ethnologist is likely to fall. But his reliance upon the same sort of research techniques, while enriching his description of the intimate features of social life, imposes definite limitations upon his understanding of the more fundamental social processes. There is likely to be lacking, as in Mr. Miner's study, a sufficient appreciation of the underlying historical and social forces which have gone to shape the particular set of phenomena which are being investigated.

Within these limitations, however, *St. Denis* is an excellent study. The Redfield approach could not have been more skilfully applied. Whatever their failings, Canada could do with more experiments of this kind. The present one demonstrates the richness of the field to be explored.

S. D. CLARK

The University of Toronto.

The Jesuits of the Middle United States. By GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN. In 3 volumes. New York: America Press. 1938. Pp. xiv, 660; x, 699; x, 666. (\$10.00 the set)

THIS history, as shown by the dedication, is a contribution to the quadricentennial celebration of the founding of the Society of Jesus which is planned for 1940. Among the great number of works which will be brought forth on the occasion of this anniversary, we declare without hesitation that, in view of the importance of the subject, and the truly scientific method in which it is treated, Father Garraghan's work will rank with the best.

The author makes clear in the preface what he means by "Middle United States": "It embraced up to recent date fifteen states, lying severally in the upper Mississippi Valley, or in the basin of the Great Lakes or in both. The term 'Middle United States' consequently best describes the widely extended area which constituted the field of operations of the Jesuits of the jurisdiction named. That area, roughly outlined, included the territory lying between the forty-ninth parallel, Mason and Dixon's line, the Rocky Mountain Continental Divide and the Eastern boundaries of Michigan and Ohio." The development of the Society of Jesus upon

this territory, their apostleship in all its aspects from the evangelization of the Indians to the creation of great intellectual centres, for example the University of Saint Louis, such is the subject of this history which opens in 1823 and ends in 1923. For the first part of his work, that which closes about 1870, the author derives his inspiration directly from manuscript sources, most of them yet unpublished. A history on this scale, written by a scholar like Father Garraghan, is important and should not be neglected.

The noted figures which he revives, Van Quickenborne and De Smet, Jesuits, the layman McLoughlin, "Father of the Oregon," the rapid and marvellous development of catholicism in that part of the United States, make Father Garraghan's work deserving of a place in every serious library in Canada or in the United States. It is an abundant source of information over an epoch and regions so far almost unexplored by the historian.

Chapter xxiv, volume II, covers the missions of the Oregon and is of particular interest to the Canadian reader. Of course, we know the preponderant part pertaining to men like Blanchet, Demers, and McLoughlin in this history: all are Canadians, which means that the first page of the history of Oregon is a grand page of Canadian history.

A word of felicitation should be given for the photographs, the maps, and the very well-made indexes which are of invaluable service to the inquiring mind.

OLIVIER MAURALT, p.S.S.

Université de Montréal.

The San Juan Islands. Edited by ARCHIE W. SHIELDS. Juneau, Alaska: Empire Printing Company. Private edition. 1938. Pp. 275.

IN this volume the editor has collected much of the correspondence in regard to the San Juan trouble between Great Britain and the United States. It begins on July 27, 1859, when under instructions from General W. S. Harney, Captain George Pickett with sixty men of the United States army landed on San Juan island, the sovereignty of which was claimed by both countries; it ends with the award of the Emperor of Germany on October 21, 1872. The question was: to which country the boundary line drawn by the Treaty of Washington, 1846, had given the San Juan islands?

The work is divided into three main parts: the documents relating to the occupation; to the boundary question; and to the arbitration before the Emperor of Germany. The correspondence and reports are set forth *verbatim* and, as far as possible, chronologically, with merely a few words of comment or explanation to connect one with another. It is in reality a documentary history of the diplomatic side of the dispute. The documents come largely from the American *State papers*, though some are to be found in the British blue books, and many, especially those containing the correspondence between the boundary commissioners, are given in Viscount Milton's *San Juan water boundary* (London, 1869). The book will be found a handy one for reference, inasmuch as the *State papers* are practically inaccessible except in large libraries and Lord Milton's volume is out of print and difficult to obtain. Its use would have been much facilitated by the inclusion of an index.

F. W. HOWAY

New Westminster, B.C.

Das Deutschtum in Westkanada. By HEINZ LEHMANN. (Veröffentlichungen der Hochschule für Politik, Forschungsabteilung.) Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt Verlag. 1939. Pp. 414.

THIS important work by Dr. Heinz Lehmann, instructor in the Hochschule für Politik, Berlin, Germany, is a natural sequel to the same author's *Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada*, published by the Ausland-Institut at Stuttgart in 1931. Taken together, the two volumes constitute an invaluable survey of the German element in Canadian national life.

So far as western Canada is concerned, the present volume is long overdue. Although the Germans are numerically the largest non-English minority in the region, there has been (as Mr. Lehmann points out in his preface) a conspicuous absence of any academic study of them, apart from the Mennonites. His net has therefore been cast rather wide in his search for data, and his bibliography covers 23 pages. On this material he has been labouring for nine years. Part of 1934 he spent in the Canadian west, gaining a first-hand acquaintance with the German communities and their conditions.

The first chapter opens with a general sketch of "The western Canadian area, its settlement and economic development" (pp. 15-40). This is followed by a vivid little episode: "Germans as settlers in western Canada's oldest colony [Lord Selkirk's colony]" (pp. 41-7). Then comes a brief chapter on Canada's immigration policies (pp. 48-57).

After these prolegomena, he comes to grips with his main theme in chapters IV and V, with "German immigration up to the World War" (pp. 58-108) and "German post-war immigration" (pp. 109-29) respectively. Special care is taken to ascertain the countries from which German immigrants came to Canada, and he demonstrates that the overwhelming majority did not come from Germany proper but from German settlements in Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Roumania, usually from regions where their German culture or their religious principles were subject to persecution.

Chapter V analyses the statistics for Germans in western Canada, and comes to the conclusion that the Canadian census figures, as a result of defective classification, are about 100,000 short. A similar conclusion was reached by Mr. W. B. Hurd in *Racial origins and nativity of the Canadian people* (1937), although his revised figure is not quite as high as that of Mr. Lehmann.

Chapter VII, by far the most extensive in the book, proceeds to give a detailed account of the regional distribution of western Canada's Germans, including a history of the development of the individual German settlements. The most striking of these are the Mennonite group-settlements associated with Winkler and Steinbach in southern Manitoba and with Rosthern in northern Saskatchewan, and the large German-Catholic group-settlements of "St. Peters Kolonie" and "St. Josephs Kolonie" in northern Saskatchewan. Chapter VIII summarizes the "Conditions and life of the German settler," and reveals the tragic economic plight of those post-war immigrants who had not yet secured a foothold before the economic collapse of 1929 reduced them to destitution.

In chapters IX, X, and XI, Mr. Lehmann attempts a survey of the communal and cultural life of the Canadian-Germans in the west. "The ecclesiastical organization of Germandom" (pp. 269-91) stresses the part played by the religious communities (Mennonite, Catholic, Lutheran, etc.) in preserving the national heritage. Approximately equal space (pp. 292-312) is given to "the secular organization of Germandom, and its part in politics and public life." Here reference is made to such men as Christian Schultz (former lieutenant-governor of Manitoba), Wilhelm Hespeler (former speaker of the Manitoba legislature), and Dr. J. M. Uhrich (min-

ister of health in the Saskatchewan legislature). Chapter XI is particularly interesting in its search for evidences of cultural activity. A vernacular press is widely circulated, especially such papers as *Der Nordwesten* and *Die Deutsche Zeitung für Canada* of Winnipeg, *Der Courier* of Regina, *St. Peters Bote* of Muenster, and various Mennonite periodicals. Mr. Lehmann concludes, rather mournfully, that the Mennonites are the only western-Canadian Germans who have thus far developed any literature in the German language. Among these, he mentions Dietrich Neufeld, Jacob J. Janzen, Johann Wiens, G. A. Peters, Gerhard Toews, Johann Peter Klassen, Peter J. Klassen, H. Goertz, Fritz Senn, N. Unruh, J. Peetasch, and Maria Penner. In his treatment of the press, Mr. Lehmann betrays the strange National Socialist obsession that our English-Canadian newspapers are controlled by Jews. Thus he says (p. 323) that the *Deutsche Zeitung für Canada* "has above all things, in an English supplement with news items and articles concerning the Third Reich, undertaken a defensive battle against the tendencious news of the Anglo-Canadian Jewish daily press."

The book closes with a full chapter on the bilingual school question (pp. 332-60) and a chapter on "The future prospects of Germanism" (pp. 361-75). In the perspective of the history of German settlement in eastern Europe, Mr. Lehmann conceives it to be vital for the spiritual future of the Germans in Canada that they should be allowed to harmonize a loyalty to the Canadian state with a loyalty to their German mother-tongue and German culture. He is discouraged to see so much prejudice and hatred arrayed against this perpetuation of minority cultures in the predominantly Anglo-Saxon provinces of Canada, but hopes that the Canadian Germans will not readily surrender their heritage. No doubt such a perpetuation of ancestral cultures, if it could be achieved without any weakening of political loyalty, would greatly enrich our national life; but in these days of international tension it is sometimes difficult to judge such issues dispassionately. One wonders if, as a matter of consistency, Mr. Lehmann would be prepared to advocate similar "cultural autonomy" for the million and a half Poles in the Third Reich, who are now being subjected to ruthless assimilation.

WATSON KIRKCONNELL

United College, Winnipeg.

The Canadian "Emma Gees": A History of the Canadian Machine Gun Corps. By C. S. GRAFTON. Toronto: The Canadian Machine Gun Corps Association [London, Ont.: Wendell Holmes]. 1938. Pp. 218.

THIS book is based chiefly on a typed history in three volumes prepared by a group of officers in 1919-20, and a number of field reports obtained from the department of national defence. Colonel Grafton in a preface explains the limitations imposed by the lack of sufficient financial resources and thus disarms criticism on the score of space and extent of research. He says modestly that it seemed better to publish an inadequate history than none at all, with which opinion the reviewer is in hearty accord.

The thread of the narrative is the increase in recognition of the importance of the machine-gun. The first chapter describes the origin and development of the weapon until 1914; the second reviews briefly the outstanding work of the machine-gun sections of the Canadian battalions and of the brigade machine-gun companies during 1915 and 1916. The machine-gun, considered at first a weapon for defence, was seen to have value in barrages and in the offensive generally; and finally it was recognized as a distinctive arm of the service with tactics of its own, intermediate between infantry and artillery. Accordingly in mid-April, 1917, a separate machine-

gun corps using Vickers guns was authorized; and it proved its value first at Paschendale, where the gunners did heroic work in the mud. The need for high individual competence in the gunners was apparent; and in April, 1918, General Currie increased the personnel of the machine-gun corps by 50 per cent, drawing on the "best and brainiest" men of the infantry battalions. The reorganization was well justified by the part played by the machine-gun corps in the battles of the hundred days, which is well told by Colonel Grafton. The reviewer is inclined to select the performance at the Drocourt-Quéant line, September 2, 1918, as highest. Certainly the machine-gunners did highly-skilled work at the cost of heavy casualties.

Colonel Grafton has woven into his main narrative an account of the work of the motor machine-gun brigade; but this is rather sketchy except for the story of resistance in front of Amiens in the last week of March, 1918. The proof-reading shows defects: Cambrai almost invariably appears as "Cambria." The reviewer is glad to say that the book is a good study in the development of machine-gun tactics and within its limitations, a fine record of the work of Canadian machine-gunners.

W. B. KERR

The University of Buffalo.

A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel: Including Voyages, Geographical Descriptions, Adventures, Shipwrecks and Expeditions. By EDWARD GODFREY COX. (University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, vols. IX and X.) Vol. I: *The old world*. Vol. II: *The new world*. Seattle, Washington: The University of Washington. 1935; 1938. Pp. x, 401; viii, 591.

IN these volumes, the author, as he explains in his preface, has endeavoured "to list in chronological order, from the earliest date ascertainable down to and including the year 1800, all the books on foreign travels, voyages, and descriptions printed in Great Britain, together with translations from foreign tongues and Continental renderings of English works," as far as they have come to his notice. He adds: "No consistent attempt has been made to exhaust the list of modern reprints; what is given of these is to be looked upon as an overflow of generosity on my part."

Though the reviewer knows that a gift-horse should not be looked in the mouth, he cannot refrain from mentioning certain omissions which will immediately strike Canadian students. A 1928 edition of Lescarbot is described but not the three volume edition of the Champlain Society; Champlain's voyages are given under the date 1912, when the Bourne edition appeared, but only the first Champlain Society volume is mentioned; and the recent edition of Patrick Campbell's *Travels* is missed. These omissions are almost unforgivable, for the University of Washington and the Seattle Public Library have subscribed to the Champlain Society since 1916 or earlier. Various modern editions of Cartier's voyages are given but not the Canadian Archives volume; while the Ontario Archives edition of La Rochefoucault-Liancourt's *Travels* is omitted. Daniel William Smyth (vol. II, p. 176) should be David William Smyth. The author apparently failed to see *A bibliography of Canadiana* (Toronto, The Public Library, 1934). This would have been of great assistance to him.

The few omissions noted do not affect the value of the work which will be permanently useful to librarians and students using travel literature. The index contains personal names but not titles. Even to have included titles where the author is not known would have carried the volumes beyond all bounds.

JAMES J. TALMAN

The University of Western Ontario.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

ADEY, ALVIN. *Why the royal visit?* (Events, VI (3), July, 1939, 13-19).

ARMSTRONG, ELIZABETH H. *French Canada and the empire* (Quarterly journal of inter-American relations, I (2), April, 1939, 77-87). An analysis of the effect of French-Canadian nationalism and isolationism on Canada's imperial and foreign policy.

BALDWIN OF BEWDLEY, The Right Hon. the Earl. *The Falconer lectures, delivered at the University of Toronto, April 20, 21, 22, 1939.* Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1939. Pp. 39. (25c.) See p. 303. The Falconer lectureship was established in the University of Toronto to commemorate the twenty-five years of Sir Robert Falconer's presidency, 1907-32.

BENTWICH, N. *Arbitration of disputes between the nations of the British Commonwealth* (Arbitration journal, III, Jan., 1939, 56-60).

The British Commonwealth after Munich (Round table, no. 114, March, 1939, 238-51). Views the crisis of September, 1938, as a test revealing both the strength and weaknesses of British Commonwealth relations, and suggests remedies to correct existing defects in defence and foreign policies.

COWIE, DONALD. *An empire prepared: A study of the defence potentialities of greater Britain.* Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Lord LLOYD OF DOLOBRAN. London: George Allen and Unwin. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1939. Pp. 277. (\$1.75). See p. 308.

DECUGIS, H. *L'influence des juges et des membres du barreau sur l'évolution de l'Empire britannique* (Bulletin trimestriel de la Société de législation comparée, LXVII, oct.-déc., 1938, 326-35).

FALCONER, SIR ROBERT. *The throne and Canada* (Queen's quarterly, XLVI (2), summer, 1939, 137-44). An analysis of the significance of the crown, especially in relation to national unification in Canada.

Future of the empire. I: *Warning signs* by Sir ALFRED ZIMMERN; II: *New factors* by Lord LOTHIAN; III: *Crown colonies* by Sir DONALD CAMERON; IV: *Imperial defence* by Sir JOHN BURNETT-STUART; V: *Co-ordination* by ERNEST BEVIN; VI: *Liberalising Ottawa* by NOEL HALL (Spectator, Jan. 6, 13, 20, 27; Feb. 3, 10, 1939).

GORDON, KEITH V. *North America sees our king and queen.* London: Hutchinson and Co. [Toronto: Ryerson Press]. 1939. Pp. 227. (\$1.25) An account of the royal visit to Canada and the United States, by an English author who is apparently unaware of the position of the crown in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The book is cheaply printed and unattractive in appearance. The title will not commend it to Canadians.

HARLOW, VINCENT. *The character of British imperialism.* Public inaugural lecture delivered at King's College, University of London, on March 1, 1939. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1939. Pp. 38. (45c.) After an investigation into the nature of imperialism in general, the author provides a series of impressions of the character of British imperial ambition and enterprise down the centuries, setting it against his background of theoretical interpretation.

HODSON, H. V. *British foreign policy and the dominions* (Foreign affairs, XVII (4),

- July, 1939, 753-63). Discusses the effect of the crisis of September, 1938, on the foreign and defence policies of the commonwealth.
- [JEFFERYS, C. W.] *The visits of royalty to Canada*. Toronto: North American Life, 112 King st. W. [1939]. Pp. 38. A brief history with illustrations drawn by A. J. Carson, from material supplied by Mr. Jefferys.
- LAMB, DAVID C. *The royal tour* (Empire review, no. 462, July, 1939, 9-14).
- LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *The king and queen visit their kingdom of Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, XIX (1), July, 1939, 3-86). A vivid and beautifully illustrated account by the dominion archivist.
- LEACOCK, STEPHEN. *Canada and the monarchy* (Atlantic monthly, CLXIII (6), June, 1939, 735-43).
- MACKENZIE, IAN A. *Significance of the royal visit* (Industrial Canada, XL (3), July, 1939, 121-9). The dominion minister of defence includes here a brief consideration of Canada's defence problems.
- MAEMECKE, ROBERT. *Die rechtliche Stellung der britischen Dominien beim Abschluss internationaler Verträge: Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Rechtsprobleme der Britischen Staatengesellschaft*. (Abhandlungen der Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Göttingen, 25. Heft.) Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1938. Pp. xvi, 199. (M. 7.60) See p. 310.
- MARRIOTT, J. A. R. *The crown imperial* (Quarterly review, no. 532, April, 1937, 189-204). A survey of the place of the crown in English history and the significance of the then impending coronation.
- PLAXTON, CHARLES PERCY (ed.). *Canadian constitutional decisions of the judicial committee of the privy council, 1930 to 1939*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. lxxii, 457. Important decisions of the judicial committee of the privy council relating to the Canadian constitution are here analysed and edited by the acting deputy minister of the department of justice, Ottawa, who took an important part in the preparation and presentation of arguments on behalf of the dominion government.
- SCHMID, WALTER. *Die "common allegiance" als Beschränkung der völkerrechtlichen Handlungsfähigkeit der britischen Dominien*. Kirchhain, N.-L.: Schmiersow. 1937. Pp. 82.
- SCHNEEFUSS, WALTER. *Gefahrenzonen des britischen Weltreiches*. Leipzig: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag. 1928. Pp. 121. (M. 2.50)
- SOWARD, FREDERIC H. *British Columbia and the British Commonwealth of Nations* (Quarterly journal of inter-American relations, I (3), July, 1939, 45-56). The author concludes "In British Columbia the transition from a purely British to a more North American outlook has begun, is increasing, and is not likely to diminish."
- STEWART, ROBERT B. *Treaty relations of the British Commonwealth of Nations*. Foreword by W. Y. ELLIOTT. New York: Macmillan Co. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada]. 1939. Pp. xxiv, 503. (\$5.50) To be reviewed later.
- The story of the British Empire: Told with pen and picture*. Part I. London: Amalgamated Press. 1939. Pp. 44. (20c. a copy) The first in a proposed series of twenty fortnightly parts.
- ZIMMERN, SIR ALFRED. *The British Commonwealth and world order* (Fortnightly, no. 868, n.s., April, 1939, 419-28).

Canada and secession (letter to editor in Spectator, Feb. 10, 1939, 221).

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BLACK, W. D. *National defence and other problems* (Industrial Canada, XL (3), July, 1939, 64-71).

Canada and the war danger (Round table, no. 115, June, 1939, 570-83). Comments under the headings "Party leaders and the Czech crisis," "Reactions in Quebec and Ontario," and "Second thoughts at Ottawa."

Canada, Dominion bureau of statistics, Internal trade branch, Department of trade and commerce. *The Canadian balance of international payments: A study of methods and results*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 251. (\$1.00) Prepared under the direction of Herbert Marshall assisted by C. D. Blyth.

Canada, Secretary of state for external affairs. *Documents relating to the German-Czechoslovak crisis, September, 1938*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1938. Pp. 24. (10c.)

Canadian unity in war and peace (Canadian unionist, XII (10), March, 1939, 249-51). Advocates definite legislation to clarify Canada's right to choose independently her policy in time of war.

CHIPMAN, WARWICK. *For peace and freedom* (Canadian unionist, XII (10), March, 1939, 246-8, 254). A plea for adherence to the policy and practice of the covenant of the League of Nations.

FIELDHOUSE, H. NOEL. *Canada's foreign policy* (Fortnightly, no. DCCCLXXXI, n.s., July, 1939, 1-12).

HEUSER, HEINRICH. *Control of international trade*. London: George Routledge and Sons [Toronto: Musson Book Co.]. 1939. Pp. xii, 282. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

INNIS, HAROLD A. *Economic trends in Canadian-American relations* (Conference on educational problems in Canadian-American relations, University of Maine Press, 1939, 96-107).

KING, W. L. MACKENZIE. *Canada's commonwealth and foreign policies* (Canadian defence quarterly, XVI (3), April, 1939, 239-70). A reprint of the premier's comprehensive statement to the house of commons, March 30, 1939.

The international situation: Canada's attitude towards present day world problems. Statements: I. House of Commons, Ottawa, March 20th, 1939; II. House of Commons, Ottawa, March 30th, 1939. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 53.

LAPOINTE, ERNEST. *Canada's commonwealth policy* (Canadian defence quarterly, XVI (3), April, 1939, 271-81). A reprint of the important statement by the minister of justice in the house of commons, March 31, 1939. Mr. Lapointe was adamant against conscription for oversea service but emphatic as to the impossibility of Canadian neutrality in case Britain is at war.

LOWER, A. R. M. *The United States through Canadian eyes* (Quarterly journal of inter-American relations, I (3), July, 1939, 104-11).

MACKENZIE, IAN A. *Some problems of national defence* (Industrial Canada, XL (2), June, 1939, 35-6).

MUNRO, HENRY F. *Canadian-American reactions to world politics* (Conference on educational problems in Canadian-American relations, University of Maine Press, 1939, 13-22). An examination of some fundamental principles of world politics, and of the similar reactions to them felt by the United States and Canada.

ROY, F. *L'Institut canadien des affaires internationales et la préparation d'une politique extérieure canadienne* (Revue politique et parlementaire, Paris, XLVI, 10 mars, 1939, 390-8).

SCOTT, F. R. *What kind of a peace do we want?* (Saturday night, July 15, 1939, 3). An article on the lack of objectives in Canada's foreign policy; see also the editorial comment on page 1 of the same issue.

SHOTWELL, JAMES T. *International significance of Canadian-American peace tradition* (Conference on educational problems in Canadian-American relations, University of Maine Press, 1939, 3-12). The "will to peace" and the principle of "translating grievances into compromises," the keynotes of Canadian-American history, should point the way towards the revitalizing of world peace organization.

See also section I on "The relations of Canada within the empire."

III. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

CARRIÈRE, J.-M. *Creole dialect of Missouri* (American speech, April, 1939, 109-19). An interesting study of the dialect of the six hundred families descended from French Canadians settled in Old Mines region, Missouri, early in the nineteenth century.

FLENLEY, R. *Recent trends in historical thought* (University of Toronto quarterly, VIII (4), July, 1939, 394-402).

GUILLET, EDWIN C. and McEWEN, JESSIE E. *Finding new homes in Canada*. (Highroads of Canadian history series, book 2.) Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1938. Pp. viii, 248. (75c.) See p. 362.

HAM, EDWARD BILLINGS. *French national societies in New England* (New England quarterly, XII (2), June, 1939, 315-32). The struggle of the Franco-American population to preserve its racial integrity is shown in this survey of the character of the French-Canadian national societies and their contribution to New England life.

HARRIS, LEILA GOTT and HARRIS, KILROY. *Canadian ways*. Bloomington, Ill.: McKnight and McKnight. 1939. Pp. 207. See p. 362.

Historical facts about Canada. [Compiled by Mrs. V. E. HENDERSON. Toronto:] Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire. [1939]. 2 sheets. This interesting chart lists chronologically the important facts in the history of each of the provinces. The printing is clear and legible, and the arrangement enables the reader to see at a glance what was happening simultaneously in each province from 1497 to 1898.

HUGUENIN, MADELEINE G. *Portraits de femmes*. Montréal: Editions La Patrie. 1938. Pp. 273. A series of nearly one hundred and fifty short lives of famous Canadian women.

Oxford pamphlets on world affairs. No. 1: *The prospects of civilization* by ALFRED ZIMMERN; No. 2: *The British Empire* by H. V. HODSON; No. 3: "Mein Kampf" by R. C. K. ENSOR; No. 4: *Economic self-sufficiency* by A. G. B. FISHER; No. 5: "Race" in Europe by JULIAN HUXLEY; No. 6: *The fourteen points and the Treaty of Versailles* by G. M. GATHORNE-HARDY; No. 7: *Colonies and raw materials* by H. D. HENDERSON. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1939. Pp. 32; 32; 29; 32; 32; 40; 31. (10c. each)

Papers relating to the foreign relations of the United States, 1923. 2 vols. (Department of state, Publication 1260.) Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office. 1938. Pp. cxii, 973; cxx, 1283. (\$1.25; \$2.00) The first volume of this collection contains a number of documents directly relating to Canada. One group has to do with the claims to Wrangell island. The papers on the halibut fishery treaty of 1923 throw light on this first case of a treaty signed only by a Canadian plenipotentiary, and on the question of whether the treaty was to bind the remainder of the British Empire. There are documents on the projected treaty intended to replace the Rush-Bagot Agreement, and on some minor questions. [G. deT. G.]

(2) Discovery and Exploration

BISHOP, R. P. *Drake's course in the north Pacific* (British Columbia historical quarterly, III (3), July, 1939, 151-82).

[FINK, COLIN G.] *The Drake plate: Science corroborates history* (Columbia University quarterly, XXXI (2), June, 1939, 134-41). A brief note on Drake's "plate of brass" of 1579, discovered in California.

HONTI, JOHN TH. *Vinland and Ultima Thule* (Modern language notes, LIV (3), March, 1939, 159-72). In *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, written by Adam of Bremen in the eleventh century, the writer discovers an early source of Vinland tradition.

WRIGHT, IONE STUESSY. *The first American voyage across the Pacific, 1527-8: The voyage of Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron* (Geographical review, XXIX (3), July, 1939, 472-82). An account of a voyage from New Spain to the Moluccas.

(3) New France

BURKE, EUSTELLA. *The old regime* (Canadian homes and gardens, XVI (5), May, 1939, 42-5, 75). An account of architectural style in New France.

CALDWELL, NORMAN W. *Shawneetown: A chapter in the Indian history of Illinois* (Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXXII (2), June, 1939, 193-205). A note on the potential importance of the friendly Shawnee tribe to French settlement in the Mississippi valley early in the eighteenth century.

DAVIAULT, PIERRE. *Berthier de Villemure* (Le Mauricien, II (1), janv., 1938, 14, 34). The career of Alexandre Berthier (1638-1708), founder of the two seigneuries in Quebec, Berthier-en-Haut and Berthier-en-Bas.

GOULD, CLARENCE P. *Trade between the Windward islands and the continental colonies of the French empire, 1683-1763* (Mississippi Valley historical review, XXV (4), March, 1939, 473-90). Reveals Canada, the source of supplies of livestock, lumber, flour, etc., for the French West Indies, as an important factor in the struggle to create a self-sufficient French empire.

MCDOWELL, F. E. D. *Fort Ste. Marie then . . . and now* (Canadian National magazine, XXV (3), March, 1939, 7, 33). This fort, originally founded in 1639 as headquarters of the Jesuit missions to the Hurons, and recently reconstructed, is situated on the Wye river near Midland, Ontario.

MORSE, WILLIAM INGLIS (ed.). *Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, records: Colonial and "Saintongeais."* London: Bernard Quaritch. 1939. Pp. xiv, 118. See p. 332.

REGAN, ELEANOR. *Le Moyne d'Iberville (1661-1706)* (Records of American Catholic Historical Society, XLIX (3), Sept., 1938, 193-213).

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Inventaire des contrats de mariage du régime française conservés aux Archives judiciaires de Québec*. 6 vols. Québec: Palais de Justice. Vols. I-III, 1937. Vols. IV-VI, 1938. Pp. 300; 300; 300; 300; 300; 292. The publication of this great six-volume catalogue of the marriage contracts of the French régime will enable the genealogists of French Canada to push their researches even closer toward perfection. The *Inventaire* will be of use to many historians as well who will be able to check the whereabouts of certain individuals at times that have hitherto been obscure. It is a further example of the valuable contributions of the provincial Archives of the province of Quebec. [R.S.]

WRONG, GEORGE M. (ed.). *The long journey to the country of the Hurons by Father Gabriel Sagard*. Introduction and notes by the editor. Translated into English by H. H. LANGTON. (Publications of the Champlain Society, XXV.) Toronto: The Society. 1939. Pp. xlviii, 411, xii. To be reviewed later.

(4) British North America before 1867

- ABEL, ANNIE HELOISE (ed.). *Tabeau's narrative of Loisel's expedition to the Upper Missouri*. Translated from the French by ROSE ABEL WRIGHT. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press. 1939. Pp. xiv, 272. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- BAILEY, KENNETH P. *The Ohio Company and its relations to western Pennsylvania* (Western Pennsylvania historical magazine, XXII (2), June, 1939, 73-86). The relationship of the Ohio Company to British Indian policy and its importance in the outbreak of the Seven Years' War are shown in this account of the colonial westward movement after 1748.
- BIRD, ANNIE LAURIE. *Thomas McKay* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXX (1), March, 1939, 1-14). The story of this trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, born 1797 died 1849(?), provides interesting sidelights on the early history of the Pacific north-west.
- _____. *The will of Thomas McKay* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXX (1), March, 1939, 15-18).
- BRANCH, P. DOUGLAS. *Henry Bouquet: Professional soldier* (Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography, LXII (1), Jan., 1938, 41-51). Bouquet, a Swiss-born mercenary, served in the British forces in Pennsylvania, 1756-64.
- BROUILLETTE, BENOÎT. *La pénétration du continent américain par les Canadiens français, 1763-1846: Trailants, explorateurs, missionnaires*. Préface de M. l'abbé LIONEL GROULX. Montréal: Granger Frères. 1939. Pp. 242. (\$1.00)
- CARLSTEDT, ELLWORTH T. *When Fond du Lac was British* (Minnesota history, XX (1), March, 1939, 7-18). Shows how the British retained control of fur-trading activities in the Lac du Fond area at the head of the lakes until 1816, although the area became part of the United States in 1783.
- DESROSIERS, LÉO-PAUL. *Les engagés du Grand Portage*. Paris: Gallimard. 1938. Pp. 211. A novel dealing with the fur trade in the days of Simon McTavish.
- DOUGLAS, JESSE S. (ed.). *Matthews' adventures on the Columbia. Pacific Fur Company document* (Oregon historical quarterly, XL (2), June, 1939, 105-48). A manuscript written in 1824, now in the United States National Archives, relates the experiences of a Pacific Fur Company employee in establishing the first American settlement on the Columbia river.
- DOUVILLE, RAYMOND. *Aaron Hart: Récit historique*. Trois-Rivières: Editions du Bien Public. 1938. Pp. 194. (\$1.00) Aaron Hart was the first Jew to settle in Canada. He arrived as an officer in one of Amherst's American regiments and took up residence in Three Rivers after the conquest, where he lived until his death in 1799.
- ELLIOTT, T. C. *The strange case of David Thompson and Jeremy Pinch* (Oregon historical quarterly, XL (2), June, 1939, 188-99). Did the United States government send a military expedition in 1807 to the Columbia river country to restrain the activities of the British fur traders?
- EWEN, C. H. L'E. *The north-west passage: Light on the murder of Henry Hudson from unpublished depositions*. London: The author, 103 Gower st., W.C. 1. 1938. Pp. 8.
- FILTEAU, GÉRARD. *Histoire des patriotes*. Tome II: *Le nationalisme contre le colonialisme*. (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Editions de l'Action canadienne-française. 1939. Pp. 255. To be reviewed later.
- FLOOK, S. E. *Dawson's route from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry* (Association of Ontario Land Surveyors, annual report, Toronto, 1939, 188-200). An account of the expedition under S. J. Dawson, appointed in 1857 by the Canadian government to explore the territory north of Lake Superior and to investigate the possibility of colonizing it.

- GAMBLE, ANNA DILL. *Col. James Smith and the Caughnawaga Indians* (Records of American Catholic Historical Society, XLIX (1), March, 1938, 1-26). A note on the part played by this tribe of Catholic Indians in Pennsylvania in colonial and revolutionary times.
- HEADLAM, CECIL and NEWTON, ARTHUR PERCIVAL (eds.). *Calendar of state papers: Colonial series; America and West Indies, 1732*. Preserved in the Public Record Office. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1939. Pp. 1, 362. To be reviewed later.
- HUTH, HANS. *Letters from a Hessian mercenary* (Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography, LXII (4), Oct., 1938, 488-501). A mercenary's impressions of British manoeuvres under General Howe are revealed in this article, based on letters of Colonel Donop, a German serving with the British forces in America, 1776-7.
- Indian treaties printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1736-1762*. With an introduction by CARL VAN DOREN and historical and bibliographical notes by JULIAN P. BOYD. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1938. Pp. xc, 340. (Ed. limited to 500 copies.) (\$15.00) The thirteen treaties printed in this volume are rare and no single library contains them all. Mr. Boyd's essay, "Indian affairs in Pennsylvania, 1736-1762," makes clear the importance to the English colonies of the friendship of the Iroquois confederacy. The treaties have been supplemented by three journals which throw light on the treaties of 1745, 1758, and 1762.
- JENNINGS, JOHN. *Next to valour: A novel*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1939. Pp. x, 820. (\$3.00) There is little to recommend this volume except the over-obvious industry of the author and the speed with which the better adventure episodes move. It is melodramatic and much too long. [R.S.]
- KING, TITUS. *Narrative of Titus King of Northampton, Mass., a prisoner of the Indians in Canada, 1755-1758*. Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 624 Main st. 1938. Pp. 21. (\$1.50)
- KING, W. CORNWALLIS. *Akaitcho, a link with Franklin as told to Mary Weekes* (Beaver, outfit 270, no. 1, June, 1939, 25-7). Retells the reminiscences of the Indian chief who guided the Franklin expedition from Fort Providence to the Arctic sea in 1820.
- LANCASTER, BRUCE. *Guns of Burgoyne*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1939. Pp. viii, 425. This is a superb piece of historical re-creation. Through the eyes of a young Hessian officer the reader is plunged into the hopes and despairs of Burgoyne's army in this incredible new world with its unbelievable people and their unorthodox ways of war. [R.S.]
- LAUBER, ALMON W. (ed.). *The papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. IX. Albany, N.Y.: University of the State of New York. 1939. Pp. xiv, 970. To be reviewed later.
- MACINNES, C. M. *A gateway of empire*. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith. 1939. Pp. 456. (15s.) To be reviewed later.
- MACKAY, DOUGLAS. *Tokens, coins and scrip: Notes on the Hudson's Bay Company's fur-trade currency* (Canadian banker, XLIV (4), July, 1937, 401-7).
- [MIKEL, W. C.]. *Godlove Mikel (United Empire loyalist): Historical notes concerning one of the old log cabin families*. [Belleville, Ont.: The author, the Courthouse.] n. d. Pp. 63. Brief biography of a United Empire loyalist, with a list of his numerous descendants.
- MILLS, EDWIN W. *Along Umfreville's route* (Beaver, outfit 270, no. 1, June, 1939, 14-17). The story of Edward Umfreville's canoe trip from Nipigon bay to Winnipeg river in 1784, in search of a fur-trade route for the North West Company.

NEEL, GREGG L. *Pittsburgh* (Western Pennsylvania historical magazine, XXI (4), Dec., 1938, 275-92). This historical account includes the story of the British victory over the French in this area in 1758.

Papers relating to an act of the assembly of the province of New-York, for encouragement of the Indian trade, &c. and for prohibiting the selling of Indian goods to the French, viz. of Canada. (Photostat Americana, ser. 2, photostated at the Massachusetts Historical Society, no. 55.) Boston: The Society. 1938. Pp. 24.

PECKHAM, HOWARD H. (ed.). *George Croghan's journal of his trip to Detroit in 1767: With his correspondence relating thereto, now published for the first time from the papers of General Thomas Gage in the William L. Clements Library.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 61. (\$1.25).

PEMBERTON, W. BARING. *Lord North.* London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1938. Pp. xii, 445. This revaluation of the public career of North gives a prominent place to his American policy.

RICE, HOWARD C. *Barthélemi Tardiveau, a French trader in the west: Biographical sketch including letters from Barthélemi Tardiveau to St. John de Crève-Coeur, 1778-1789.* (Institut Français de Washington, Historical documents, Cahier XI.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 90. (\$2.25) A sketch of the life of a French merchant who came to America during the American Revolution and settled in Kentucky. Its only interest for Canadian history lies in the occasional references to the French-Canadian settlements in the Illinois country. [W.S.W.]

TALMAN, JAMES J. (ed.). *A Canadian view of parties and issues on the eve of the Civil War* (Journal of southern history, V (2), May, 1939, 245-53). Extracts of letters (in the Clarke papers in the Ontario Archives) from George Sheppard, at the time newspaper correspondent in Washington, to Charles Clarke in Canada West, 1860-1.

TOBIE, H. E. *Joseph L. Meek: A conspicuous personality.* I: 1820-34; II: 1834-9; III: 1839-40; IV: 1841-6 (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXIX (2, 3, 4), XL (1), June, Sept., Dec., 1938, March, 1939, 123-46, 286-306, 410-24, 19-39). This biographical sketch throws light on fur-trade activities in the Pacific north-west during the period.

Tonti letters (Mid-America, XXI (3), July, 1939, 209-38). Extracts from two letters written in 1700 by Henry de Tonti to his brother in France, contain geographical information regarding the Mississippi valley.

(5) The Dominion of Canada

BASTIEN, HERMAS. *Le bilinguisme au Canada.* (Documents sociaux.) Montréal: Editions de l'A. C.-F. 1938. Pp. 206. "Plus nous savons d'anglais, plus nous rétrogradons dans l'ordre économique."

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. and BARBEAU, MARIUS. *The people of Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, XVIII (5), May, 1939, 227-47). An historical account of their origins, characteristics, and achievements, and a comment on national unity.

Canadian Alpine journal. Edited by A. A. MCCOUBREY. Vol. XXVI, 1938. Published by the Alpine Club of Canada [Banff, Alta.], June, 1939. Pp. vii, 152. (\$1.50). Contains a number of descriptive articles on mountains and mountain-climbing in Canada.

COLE, FREDERICK. *The struggle for the capital of Canada.* (Reprinted from the Ottawa Evening journal.) Ottawa: The author, 425 Daly st. 1938. Pp. 20.

CROWLE, H. E. *Concurrent powers may be solution* (Saturday night, July 29, 1939, 3). A solution is offered of the difficult problem of dominion-provincial relationships.

CUMMING, R. D. *Sailing on to Iceland and across Canada by rail.* London: Mitre Press. 1938. Pp. 79. Includes a sketchy account of a trip across Canada.

- DARVALL, FRANK. *The Canadian political scene* (Contemporary review, CLIV, Dec., 1938, 684-92).
- DAWSON, R. MACGREGOR. *The select committee on the civil service, 1938* (C.J.E.P.S., V (2), May, 1939, 179-94). A critical account of the character and achievement of this commission created to enquire into the operation of the Canadian Civil Service Act.
- ELLIS, L. ETHAN. *The northwest and the reciprocity agreement of 1911* (Mississippi valley historical review, XXVI (1), June, 1939, 55-66). An account of the campaign against reciprocity in the American north-west.
- FORD, STEPHEN. *The Canadian press* (Canadian business, XII (6), June, 1939, 28-30). The story of Canada's news-gathering and dispensing service.
- HAYDON, J. A. P. *How Canada governs itself* (Canadian congress journal, XVIII (5), May, 1939, 12-13). A few fundamental facts about parliamentary procedure.
- Judge for yourself* (Maclean's magazine, LII (4), Feb. 15, 1939, 9, 41-7). Sets forth the main features of the Davis report on the Bren machine gun contract.
- LOWER, A. R. M. *A half-forgotten builder of Canada* (Queen's quarterly, XLVI (2), summer, 1939, 191-7). An appreciative account of the work of William Hamilton Merritt, promoter of the first Welland and St. Lawrence canals.
- MCCULLAGH, GEORGE. *Marching on—to what?* Reprinted from the *Globe and mail*, Toronto. Pp. 31. A series of five radio addresses designed to awaken a new spirit of public consciousness in Canada and to encourage a more efficient and less costly system of government. Denying connection with any political party, Mr. McCullagh laid the plans for the formation of the "Leadership League."
- MAW, S. H. *This is Canada: Being a reproduction of a calendar presented to their most gracious majesties commemorating the occasion of their first visit to Canada, 1939*. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. Pp. 10. (\$1.25) This series of illustrated maps is arranged in the sequence of the tour of their majesties, May, 1939. The maps of each province are attractively drawn and the author has managed to incorporate in a small space an amazing amount of historical and factual information, in French and English.
- Mémoires des minorités catholiques de langue française au Canada présentés à la Commission Rowell, Acadiens et Canadiens français des provinces Maritimes, Canadiens français du Manitoba, Canadiens français de la Saskatchewan, Canadiens français de l'Alberta*. (Œuvre des tracts, no. 228.) Montréal: Action paroissiale. 1938. Pp. 16. (10c.)
- MOLSON, HUGH. *Canada in 1937* (Nineteenth century, DCCXXIV, June, 1937, 824-36). An Englishman examines Canada's political and economic problems and her external policy in 1937.
- OSBORN, CHASE S. and OSBORN, STELLA BRUNT. *The conquest of a continent*. [Poulan, Worth County, Ga.: The Authors.] 1939. Pp. [viii], 190. (\$3.00) This volume relates clearly and concisely the history of the Canadian-United States boundary from coast to coast. It contains a fairly extensive bibliography and an index. It is attractive in format and typography.
- PARMELEE, J. G. *Canada's participation in the world's fair* (Canadian geographical journal, XIX (1), July, 1939, 85-100). A note on the Canadian exhibit at the New York world's fair, 1939.
- POTVIN, DAMASE. *Puyjalon: Le solitaire de l'Ile-à-la-Chasse*. Préface de L. A. RICHARD. (Les oubliés, no. 1.) Beauceville, P.Q.: La Cie de "L'Eclaireur." 1938. Pp. 168. Count Henry de Puyjalon came to Canada in the last decades of the nineteenth century, lost his fortune, lived for several years as a lighthouse-keeper, and died in 1905. His biographer includes material on the geography, flora, and fauna of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and a plea for the conservation of the natural resources of Canadian Labrador.

PRATT, R. JOHN. *Difficulties in training the Canadian militia* (Canadian defence quarterly, XVI (3), April, 1939, 340-6).

ROBERTS, Sir CHARLES G. D. and TUNNELL, ARTHUR L. (eds.). *A standard dictionary of Canadian biography: Canadian who was who*. Vol. II. (Library edition.) Toronto: Trans-Canada Press. 1938. Pp. xx, 478. This second volume deals with the same subject as the first, that is, Canadians or individuals connected with Canadian history who died in and after the year 1875. The two volumes are therefore parallel, and reference must be made to both for any name. The promise in the preface of the first volume to cover certain obvious omissions has not yet been fully carried out. There are, for example, no biographies of Sir John Macdonald, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, or Sir Oliver Mowat. Presumably there will be a third volume on this same period.

Apart from this unusual and unfortunate arrangement, the volume is a useful book of reference. The biographies are uncritical but useful summaries. Especially valuable will be the notes on the secondary figures. [G. deT. GLAZEBROOK]

SANDWELL, B. K. *The electors' hired man* (Queen's quarterly, XLVI (2), summer, 1939, 170-5). A timely article upon the attitude of the electorate towards its parliamentary representatives—"an attitude which I conceive to be insulting and degrading to the representatives, and destructive of public respect for the institutions of Government."

SCOTT, F. R. *Le Canada d'aujourd'hui*. Préface par EDOUARD MONTPETIT. Montreal 1939. Pp. xvi, 221. (\$1.00) A translation into French of *Canada today* (Toronto, 1938).

Semaines sociales du Canada, XVIe session, Sherbrooke, 1938. *Pour une société chrétienne*. Compte rendu des cours et conférences. Montréal: Ecole sociale populaire, 1938. Pp. 416. (\$1.50) The conference studied ideas underlying Roman Catholic social doctrine and discussed the concrete problems of building the social structure of the future in Canada.

SIMARD, GEORGES. *Etudes canadiennes: Education, politique, choses d'église*. Montréal: Beauchemin. Ottawa: Editions de l'Université. 1938. Pp. 224. 1938. (\$1.00)

The spirit of Canada. Published by the Canadian Pacific Railway. 1939. Pp. [58]. This beautifully printed souvenir welcoming the visit of the king and queen to Canada contains brief historical notes, by well-known Canadian writers.

STODDARD, LOTHROP. *Canada, the good neighbour* (Caravan tour to Ireland and Canada, Boston, World Caravan Guild, 1938, 26-40). Brief political, economic, and historical sketch of Canada for American readers.

T., J. S. *The royal visit: A struggle for peace: The senate of Canada: Admission of refugees* (Dalhousie review, XIX (2), July, 1939, 234-44). A discussion of topics of the day.

What's wrong with parliament? (Maclean's magazine, LII (6), March 15, 1939, 16, 42, 45). A cross-section of the views of the magazine's readers on Canada's parliamentary system.

(6) The Great War

MACK, G. E. *Nascopie downs submarine* (Beaver, outfit 270, no. 1, June, 1939, 19-21). Tells of the *Nascopie's* encounter with a German submarine in the White Sea, 1917.

SNELL, A. E. *The C.A.M.C. with the Canadian corps during the last hundred days of the Great War*. Ottawa: King's Printer. Pp. ix, 252. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.

IV. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

CHAMPION, HELEN JEAN. *Over on the island*. Toronto, Halifax: Ryerson Press. 1939. Pp. xiv, 262. (\$2.50) Prince Edward Islanders and all those who know "The Island" or enjoy a good travelogue, will find here many pages of delightful reading.

The talented writer has discovered an open door to a richly stored treasure house where she has gathered many gems of history and romance. The charming story of Margaret Gordon—Carlyle's first love—is well told. The description of the Charlottetown conference is an interesting fantasy of that historic meeting. The book is criticized not for what it contains, but for what has been left out. Community pride feels slighted when no mention is made of a local legend or tradition. Readers will look forward to Miss Champion's subsequent books with anticipation. Her style is in the manner and mode of Morton; her effervescent sense of humour and her happy selection of satisfying phrases show originality and promise. [H. STEWART].

HARVEY, D. C. *The spacious days of Nova Scotia* (Dalhousie review, XIX (2), July, 1939, 133-42). A study of the development of national consciousness in Nova Scotia during the period 1837-67.

HASLAM, H. L. *Twentieth century witchcraft* (Dalhousie review, XIX (2), July, 1939, 227-33). Some examples of superstition in south-western Nova Scotia.

LOUGHEED, W. F. and MACKENZIE, W. C. *Provincial borrowing in Nova Scotia* (Public affairs, II (4), June, 1939, 175-9). A study of the provincial policy of depression-time borrowing to maintain or expand public services.

MACLEAN, M. C. *Cape Breton a half-century ago* (Public affairs, II (4), June, 1939, 184-92). A sketch of the island based on the population and production figures of the 1871 census.

VESEY, MAXWELL. *When New Brunswick suffered invasion* (Dalhousie review, XIX (2), July, 1939, 197-204). The story of the Fenian invasion of 1866.

WALLACE, DONALD B. *Nova Scotia coal industry and freight rate subvention* (Public affairs, II (4), June, 1939, 167-71). A short study of the working effect of federal transportation subventions since 1928, with some questioning as to the validity and justifiable extent of such compensatory treatment.

(2) The Province of Quebec

AUGER, LORENZO. *Relique du passé: La Maison Boudreau à Deschambault* (Le Mauricien, sept., 1938, 10-11, 29).

BLANCHARD, RAOUL. *Etudes canadiennes* (deuxième série). III. *Les Laurentides*. (Extrait de la Revue de géographie alpine, XXXVI, 1938, fasc. 1.) Grenoble: Allier père et fils. 1938. Pp. 183.

BURKE, EUSTELLA. *Le bon vieux temps* (Canadian homes and gardens, XVI (5), May, 1939, 56-7, 75-6, 88). Tells of French-Canadian social customs of yesterday and today.

GAGNER, JOSEPH-LÉOPOLD. *J'ai vu les communistes à Montréal*. Montréal. 1938. Pp. 36. (10c.)

GOVIN, PAUL. *Servir: I. La cause nationale*. (Collection du Zodiaque deuxième.) Montréal: Editions du Zodiaque. 1938. Pp. 251. (75c.) Essays by one of the younger political leaders in Quebec; includes an evaluation of the various political forces and ideologies in Quebec, and a criticism of the Padlock Law.

GUILBAULT, PAUL E. *In defense of Quebec* (Catholic world, CXLVII (880), July, 1938, 428-32). A partisan defence of recent anti-communist action in Quebec.

KNOTT, LEONARD L. *City in a wilderness*. Montreal: Editorial Associates. 1938. Pp. 40. (\$1.00) History of Baie Comeau, P.Q.

LANGDON, JOHN. *En avant, Quebec* (Financial post, May 20, 1939, 13). An economic and business picture of the province of Quebec for 1939.

L'HEUREUX, EUGÈNE. *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec* (La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'église catholique, rapport, 1936-7, 31-4).

PICK, ALFRED JOHN. *The administration of Paris and Montreal: A comparative study*. (Guy Drummond publications.) Preface by J. C. HEMMEON. Montreal: Witness Press. 1939. Pp. 208. (\$1.00) Since most of the administrative difficulties of these cities are financial, this study is concerned largely with financial matters.

POTVIN, DAMASE. *Evocation des premiers jours: La grande aventure colonisatrice du Saguenay en 1838* (Le Mauricien, avril-mai, 1938, 8-11, 36).

PRIMROSE, HILDA S. *North American summer*. Edinburgh and London: Moray Press. 1939. Pp. 353. (10s. 6d.) An account of a holiday trip in North America, including one chapter on the province of Quebec. The book is pleasantly written, and the impressions of the author are sensible but not original.

Quebec, Province of. *Statistical year book, 1938*. (*Annuaire statistique*.) Quebec: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. xxxiii, 450. This, the twenty-fifth edition of the *Year book*, contains new data relative to persons endowed with the old age pension and for the first time gives a detailed statement on the Quebec Farm Credit Bureau. Considerable revisions have been made by recapitulation and co-ordination of tables especially in the chapters on population and agricultural statistics.

TACHÉ, LOUIS. *Le nord de l'Outaouais: Manuel-répertoire d'histoire et de géographie régionales*. Pointe-Gatineau, P.Q.: Chez l'auteur, Collège Saint-Alexandre. 1938. Pp. xvi, 396. (\$2.60)

WALKER, HARRISON HOWELL. *Gentle folk settle stern Saguenay* (National geographic magazine, LXXV (5), May, 1939, 595-632). A beautifully illustrated sketch of the inhabitants of the Saguenay country and their customs, based on the first-hand observations of the author.

(3) The Province of Ontario

BURKHOLDER, MABEL. *The Story of Hamilton*. Hamilton: Davis-Lisson. 1938. Pp. 183. (\$1.00) This account is largely based on secondary sources, although in some places long extracts relating to Hamilton, from early travellers' accounts have been included. There is little continuity to the narrative but it puts in an accessible form many items of historical interest relating to Hamilton and its vicinity. References to the sources used would have increased the value of the work. For example, the statement is made (p. 131), without the authority being given, that the cause of the Desjardins canal railway wreck of 1857 was clearly shown to have been a broken axle which was not raised from the canal until 1875. This is an interesting point for the fact is contrary to the contemporary evidence, which is not very clear. There are some minor errors. The author is slightly confused in her definition of loyalists. The immigration of loyalists could not continue for twenty years (p. 20) for persons who came into Upper Canada after July 29, 1798, technically were not loyalists; nor were the "professional soldiers" by which term is evidently meant British regular troops and the Hessians. Augustus Jones (pp. 35, 51) was the father, not the son, of Peter Jones. The author makes a good point (p. 34) in showing that the date of the issue of a patent has little relationship to the date of settlement. [J. J. TALMAN]

The *Conservator*, Brampton, Ont., May 18, 1939, sixty-fifth anniversary. In this anniversary edition there is much interesting historical information concerning the town of Brampton and Peel county.

HAMSON, LEO. *Toronto's yesterdays*. Toronto: Danforth Technical School. 1939. Pp. 8. An attractive illustrated pamphlet on Toronto's past which was designed, written, illustrated, and printed by the students of Danforth Technical School, under the editorial supervision of Mr. D. M. Brown.

HARRINGTON, J. LLOYD. *Allan Studholme—A pioneer* (Canadian forum, XIX (221), June, 1939, 82-3). A brief note on a Canadian labour leader who represented Hamilton East in the Ontario legislature from 1906 to 1919.

- JOHNSON, HENRY S. *The county of Norfolk*. Simcoe, Ont.: Norfolk Chamber of Commerce, Norfolk County Council, and Simcoe Town Council. 1939. Pp. [40]. An illustrated review of the historical, agricultural, and industrial background of this Ontario county and an outline of its diversified attractions.
- Kentiana. Chatham, Ont.: Kent Historical Society. 1939. Pp. 105, x. An attractively bound little volume. Although described as a summary of the published records of the Kent Historical Society, over one-third of the contents of the booklet is new. There are eighteen articles by various authors, dealing with such subjects as Fairfield, the Moravian Indian village, early settlement and surveys, Selkirk's Baldoon settlement, Tecumseh, church life, the press, municipal government, and oil booms. The ten page, two-column index might well serve as an example to all local historical societies. Particular credit is due to Dr. J. W. Mustard whose generosity made the publication possible. [J. J. TALMAN]
- LIGHTBOURN, A. H. *An inland voyage* (Blackwood's magazine, CCXLIV (1473), July, 1938, 53-73). A narrative and descriptive account of a voyage through the Trent valley waterways system in Ontario.
- Lions Club, Timmins. *The book of Timmins and the Porcupine: Official publication of the celebration of Timmins silver jubilee and Porcupine old home week, 1937*. Timmins: The Club. 1937. Pp. 111. (\$1.00)
- McRAE, J. DONALD. *New world Shakespearean shrine* (Canadian National magazine, XXV (3), March, 1939, 9, 30). Tells of the public effort made by Stratford, Ontario, to become a counterpart of its old world namesake.
- ROBINSON, PERCY J. *Gandatsekiagon and the Rouge trail*. (Reprinted from St. Andrew's College review, Aurora, Ont., mid-summer, 1939.) Pp. 4. An interesting article which contains hitherto unpublished material on the historic village of Gandatsekiagon and the Rouge route to the Holland river.
- Toronto purchased from Indians for 140 barrels of goods* (Evening telegram, Toronto, Aug. 27, 1938). This article is a supplement to the author's paper on the Chevalier de Rocheblave and the Toronto purchase in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, XXXI, 1937, 131-52.
- SMITH, J. F. C. *Houses of old Ontario* (Canadian homes and gardens, XVI (5), May, 1939, 27-9, 68, 72, 78-9, 87).
- SPENCER, RICHARD C. *The unicameral legislature of Ontario* (American political science review, XXXII (1), Feb., 1938, 67-80). A comparison of the Ontario legislative system with that of American state legislatures.
- WALLACE, W. S. *The post on Bear island* (Queen's quarterly, XLVI (2), summer, 1939, 185-9). Historical sketch to the present of the Hudson's Bay Company post on Bear island in Lake Timagami.
- WAY, RONALD L. *Old Fort Henry at Kingston, Ontario* (Royal Engineers journal, LIII, March, 1939, 57-61).

(4) The Prairie Provinces

- FORSEY, EUGENE. *Canada and Alberta: The revival of dominion control over the provinces* (Politica, IV (16), June, 1939, 95-123). Reviews briefly the law and constitutional practice with respect to disallowance of provincial acts by the dominion government and reservation of provincial bills, and examines the specific cases in which these powers were exercised in connection with the Social Credit government in Alberta in 1937 and 1938.
- MUNSON, GORHAM. *Alberta's new deal for debtors: A fight against the money power*. New York: American Social Credit Movement. 1939. Pp. 9. (10c.)
- ROE, F. G. *The winding road* (Antiquity, June, 1939, 191-206). An examination of the problem of the origin of England's winding roads, with interesting suggestions drawn from pioneer conditions in Alberta.

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

FOWLER, S. S. *Early smelters in British Columbia* (British Columbia historical quarterly, III (3), July, 1939, 183-201).

GOULD, DOROTHY FAY. *Beyond the shining mountains*. Portland, Ore.: Binfords and Mort. 1938. Pp. 212. (\$2.25) See p. 362.

L., W. K. (ed.). *The discovery of Hill's Bar in 1858* (British Columbia historical quarterly, III (3), July, 1939, 215-20). Extracts from a letter of James Moore, a pioneer, throwing light on early gold discoveries in British Columbia.

MOUAT, A. N. *Notes on the "Norman Morison"* (British Columbia historical quarterly, III (3), July, 1939, 203-14). The vessel *Norman Morison* was owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, 1848-53, and carried emigrants to Vancouver Island.

(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

CAMSELL, CHARLES. *The Yellowknife mining district* (Canadian geographical journal, XVIII (6), June, 1939, 311-19). The author uses the development of this gold mining area north of Great Slave lake as an illustration of the influence of mining on Canadian geographical history.

ELLS, S. C. *Athabaska trail* (Canadian geographical journal, XVIII (6), June, 1939, 329-39). This description of scow transport in the Athabaska-Mackenzie basin is an interesting chapter in the history of transportation in northern Canada.

FRANCINE, JACQUES. *The forgotten land* (Canadian geographical journal, XVIII (1), Jan., 1939, 53-7). A note on the resources of the Labrador peninsula and on the characteristics of its Indian inhabitants.

GODSELL, PHILIP H. *The changing north* (Forest and outdoors, V (7), July, 1939, 196-8, 219). Tells of the abandonment of the fur-trade forts before the march of civilization.

HAIG-THOMAS, DAVID. *Tracks in the snow*. London: Hodder and Stoughton [Toronto: Musson Book Co.]. 1939. Pp. 292. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

HOLDRIDGE, DESMOND. *Northern lights*. Illustrated by EDWARD SHENTON. New York: Viking Press. 1939 [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada]. Pp. iv, 240. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

HUGHES, J. P. *Legend of Big river* (Beaver, outfit 270, no. 1, June, 1939, 42-3). Recounts the Indian legend of the Mackenzie river.

SOPER, J. DEWEY. *Bird life in the eastern Arctic* (Beaver, outfit 270, no. 1, June, 1939, 29-35).

STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR. *The American far north* (Foreign affairs, XVII (3), April, 1939, 508-23). An interesting study of the climate, resources, and possible future of Alaska, northern Canada, and Greenland, with particular reference to the importance of northern aviation.

TWOMEY, ARTHUR C. *Ungava expedition* (Beaver, outfit 270, no. 1, June, 1939, 44-9). Describes the inland trip of an expedition sent by the Carnegie Museum from Moose Factory to the Seal lakes on the east coast of Hudson bay in 1938 to collect specimens of freshwater seal.

WEGENER, ELSE (ed.). *Greenland journey: The story of Wegener's German expedition to Greenland in 1930-31 as told by members of the expedition and the leader's diary*. With the assistance of FRITZ LOEWE. Translated from the 7th German ed. by WINIFRED M. DEANS. London: Blackie and Son. 1939. Pp. xx, 295. (12s. 6d.)

(7) Newfoundland

LODGE, THOMAS. *Dictatorship in Newfoundland*. London, Toronto, Melbourne and Sydney. Cassell and Co. 1939. Pp. 273. (7s. 6d.) See p. 309.

— *The problem of Newfoundland* (Fortnightly, n.s. 141, May, 1937, 558-66).

Newfoundland, annual report by the commission of government on the work of the commission during 1938. (Cmd. 6010). London: H.M.S.O. 1939. Pp. 81. (1s. 3d.) The report emphasizes the extent to which the prosperity of the island depends upon foreign trade. Although problems in the economic field have been the main interest of the government during the year, much has been done with the aim of modernizing and improving the administrative organization, and providing means of communication, social services, and other facilities needed to maintain the standard of living.

TOMKINSON, GRACE. *That wasp's nest, Placentia* (Dalhousie review, XIX (2), July, 1939, 205-14). A history of the town of Placentia in Newfoundland.

V. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

ASSELIN, OLIVAR. *L'industrie dans l'économie du Canada.* (L'Ecole sociale populaire, no. 296.) Montréal: Action paroissiale. 1938. Pp. 32. (15c.)

CAMERON, D. ROY. *Canada's forests* (Canadian geographical journal, XVIII (5), May, 1939, 248-67). Many illustrations.

Canada's tax and expenditure structures in relation to those of Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States: With some notes on taxation, public expenditure and the control of public expenditure. Toronto: Citizens' Research Institute of Canada. 1939. Pp. 40. (25c.)

Facing up to public welfare costs and services: I. Canada's public welfare bill by H. M. CASSIDY; *II. Controlling public welfare bill* by CHARLOTTE WHITTON (Canadian welfare summary, XV (1), May, 1939, 3-16).

HAWTHORNE, G. V. and MARSH, LEONARD CHARLES. *Agriculture and the farm population: A handbook of selected statistics for Ontario and Quebec.* (McGill University, Social research bulletin 1.) Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. 143, xx.

LAMARCHE, THOMAS-M. *A qui le pouvoir? A qui l'argent? Corporatisme, crédit-travail.* Montréal: Presse dominicaine. 1938. Pp. 240. (75c.) An apology for corporatism.

MACKIMMIE, G. W. *About banks and bank buildings, 1837-1937.* Part II: *After confederation* (Canadian banker, XLIV (4), July, 1937, 385-400). An historical survey of chartered banks in Canada since confederation.

MACKINTOSH, MARGARET. *Workmen's compensation in Canada* (International labour review, XL (1), July, 1939, 1-31). A survey of the evolution and present working of the Canadian system of workmen's compensation.

NICHOLS, D. A. *Canada in relief* (Canadian geographical journal, XVIII (6), June, 1939, 320-1). A description of a relief map of Canada, prepared under supervision of the topographical survey, department of mines and resources, and placed in the National Museum of Canada.

PLUMPTRE, A. F. W. *The open market operations of the Bank of Canada* (Canadian chartered accountant, XXXIII (6), Dec., 1938, 421-33).

Single Tax Association of Canada, Toronto. *Canada's economic maladies, their cause and cure: Being the brief submitted to the royal commission on dominion-provincial relations.* Toronto: Hunter-Rose. 1938. Pp. 36. (25c.)

SMITH, I. NORMAN. *A \$300,000,000 business* (Maclean's magazine, LII (9), May 1, 1939, 18-19, 37-8). Emphasizes the importance of the tourist industry to Canada.

(2) Conservation of Resources

COVENTRY, ALAN F. *An Ontario experiment in the conservation of resources* (Industrial Canada, XL (3), July, 1939, 131-7). Discusses the King township survey—a plan to preserve the wild plant and animal resources.

Experiment at Steeprock (Beaver, outfit 270, no. 1, June, 1939, 10-11). Steeprock marsh, west of Lake Winnipegosis, has been set aside by the government, to carry out a scheme for preservation of the muskrat.

HOARE, W. B. *Sanctuary* (Beaver, outfit 270, no. 1, June, 1939, 38-41). In order to preserve the musk-oxen, the Canadian government established the Thelon game sanctuary, between Great Slave lake and Hudson bay, in 1927.

MUNDAY, ALBERT. *Salvation of our beaver* (Canadian geographical journal, XVIII (6), June, 1939, 341-5). Recent projects for the conservation of Canada's beaver are described.

(3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, and Population

Board of review (immigration). *Report, October 12, 1938*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 16. The board of review was appointed by the Canadian government to investigate charges that many aliens had been entering Canada illegally.

FOLEY, ALLEN RICHARD. *French-Canadian contacts with New England* (Conference on educational problems in Canadian-American relations, University of Maine Press, 1939, 79-95). A commentary upon one of North America's most continuous population movements.

FRANK, M. Z. R. *The Jew within our gates* (Canadian magazine, XCI (2), Feb., 1939, 12-13, 46, 69). The author, a Jew, attempts to give a fair presentation of his race in Canada.

GIBBON, JOHN MURRAY. *Canadian mosaic: The making of a northern nation*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1938. Pp. xxviii, 455. (\$3.50) The purpose of this volume is to describe the part played by various ethnic groups in the Canadian community. Much miscellaneous information—historical, biographical, literary, etc.—is brought together but little insight is shown in estimating the contribution of the various groups to Canadian culture.

Immigration: I. A negative view. II. Another view (Round table, no. 114, March, 1939, 398-404; 404-11). Two contrasting opinions on Canadian immigration policy.

KEMP, H. R. *Notes on the population problem* (Commerce journal, University of Toronto Commerce Club, March, 1939, 31-9).

LANGLOIS, GEORGES. *Essai sur le peuplement français au Canada* (Congrès international de la population, Paris, Hermann et cie, 1937, II, 49-60).

LEHMANN, HEINZ. *Das Deutschtum in Westkanada*. (Veröffentlichungen des Hochschule für Politik, Forschungsabteilung.) Berlin: Junker and Dünhaupt Verlag. 1939. Pp. 414. See p. 336.

MACDONALD, NORMAN. *Canada, 1763-1841, immigration and settlement: The administration of the imperial land regulations*. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1939. Pp. xii, 577. (\$6.25) To be reviewed later.

MACLEAN, M. C. *The Canadian family* (Congrès international de la population, Paris, 1937, IV, 66-82). Contains a brief sketch of the outstanding characteristics of the Canadian family as revealed by censuses from 1666 to the present.

PELLETIER, A. J., THOMPSON, F. D., and ROCHON, A. *The Canadian family: A study based on the census of 1931 and supplementary data*. (Dominion bureau of statistics; reprinted from vol. XIII, seventh Census of Canada, 1931; monograph no. 7.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1938. Pp. 228. (35c.)

Report of the mission to British Columbia of Brig.-Gen. Sir Henry Page Croft (chairman of the empire development and settlement research committee and of the Empire Industries Association) and Mr. R. S. Dalgliesh to investigate the possibilities of community settlement for British immigrants to that province in August, 1938. Bournemouth: Bournemouth Guardian. 1938. Pp. 28. (1s.) This report proposes that immediate steps be taken to settle 10,000 selected immigrants and their families in Canada.

- ROSENBERG, LOUIS. *Facts and fallacies concerning Jewish colonization schemes* (Jewish post, March 30, 1939, 8, 13, 14). A discussion of Jewish farm settlement in Canada.
- ROY, CAMILLE. *L'avenir des minorités françaises au Canada: Discours prononcé du 9ème Congrès général de l'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, à Ottawa, le 12 octobre 1938*. Québec: Action catholique. 1938. Pp. 14.
- SILCOX, CLARIS EDWIN. *Canadian post-mortem on refugees* (Social welfare, XVIII (3), spring, 1939, 79-84). A summary of the major reasons for Canada's unwillingness to admit European refugees.
- THOMAS, BRINLEY. *The decline in international migration* (Political quarterly, X (2), April-June, 1939, 254-67). Touches on Canadian immigration since the Great War.
- THORSTEINSSON, T. T. *Vestmenn*. Reykjavík: Isalfoldarprentsmidja 1938. Pp. 450. A record of the Icelanders in North America.
- VERGOTTINI, M. de. *Dati sul movimento naturale degli italiani nel Canada, 1936* (Istituto centrale di statistica, Italy, XII (2), Feb., 1939, 30-2). Data on vital statistics of Italians in Canada in 1936.
- (4) Transportation and Communication**
- BLANCHET, GUY H. *Conquering the northern air* (Beaver, outfit 269, no. 4, March, 1939, 11-14). Traces the steps by which the aeroplane was brought into northern Canada, and some of the problems and experiences encountered.
- [BROCKINGTON, L. W.]. *Canadian broadcasting: An account of stewardship. A statement by L. W. Brockington, K.C., chairman of the board of governors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, to the radio committee of the house of commons, March 2nd and 3rd, 1939*. Pp. 50. An account of the origins, growth, present position, problems, and possibilities of Canada's national broadcasting system.
- Canada, Department of transport. *Churchill and the Hudson bay route*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 50.
- Canada, Dominion bureau of statistics. *Bibliographical list of references to Canadian railways, 1829-1938*. Ottawa. 1938. Pp. vi, 99 (plano.). (\$1.00)
- DORMAN, ROBERT (comp.). *A statutory history of the steam and electric railways of Canada, 1836-1937*. (Canada, Department of transport.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1938. Pp. 765. (\$3.00)
- GRANT, J. FERGUS. *Across Canada by air* (Canadian geographical journal, XVIII (5), May, 1939, 276-303).
- LEBOURDAIS, D. M. "Amalgamation never . . .": *The case for the C.N.R.* Toronto: National Railway League, 137 Wellington st. W. [1938]. Pp. 48. (25c.)
- MARSH, D'ARCY. *The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* (Canadian geographical journal, XVIII (3), March, 1939, 153-9).
- Ontario, Province of. *Report of the royal commission on transportation, 1938*. Toronto: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. xvi, 293. (\$1.00)
- PETTY, H. N. *Mackenzie river transport* (Beaver, outfit 269, no. 4, March, 1939, 48-50).
- TODD, H. C. *From carpet bag to airplane* (Canadian national magazine, XXV (4), April, 1939, 6, 34). Traces the evolution of a Canadian express service during the past century.

VI. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

- ALLEN, HOWARD C. *Organization and administration of the public school systems of the provinces of Quebec and Ontario*. Syracuse, N.Y.: The author, 725 Euclid Ave. 1937. Pp. vii, 117 (mimeo.). (\$1.00)
- A brief presented by the Ontario teachers' council to the royal commission on dominion-provincial relations, April, 1938.* Pp. 19.
- CALLAN, LOUISE. *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America*. With an introduction by the Rev. GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN. London, New York, and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1937. Pp. xviii, 809. The Society of the Sacred Heart, a teaching order founded in France shortly after the revolution, sent some of its members to the United States in 1818, first to the middle west. It later extended its work to Canada, first at Montreal (1842), and then at Halifax (1849) and Saint John (1854). Schools were established at these centres, both for free pupils and as boarding-schools. The chapter on Canada is a brief narrative, which gives the necessary facts as to the work of the order, but little of the relation of its schools to the general educational system of the provinces. Manuscript materials have been used for the history of the order, but little attempt has apparently been made to study Canadian documents or even printed works, except those directly bearing on the subject. [G. deT. G.]
- Canada, Department of labour. *Training Canada's young unemployed: Facts, figures and objectives of the dominion-provincial youth training programme*. Ottawa: Department of labour. 1938. Pp. 25.
- Canada, Department of trade and commerce; Dominion bureau of statistics; Education statistics branch. *Higher education in Canada, 1936-38* (Being part II of the Biennial survey of education in Canada, 1936-38). Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 98. (35c.)
- FLETCHER, B. A. *An educational survey of Antigonish County, Nova Scotia*. (Dalhousie University bulletins on public affairs, IX.) Halifax: Imperial Publishing Co. 1938. Toronto: Thos. Nelson. 1939. Pp. 39. (25c.)
- *The next step in Canadian education: An account of the larger unit of school administration*. (Studies of the Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie University.) Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1939. Pp. xviii, 202. (\$2.00) See p. 324.
- GRAY, JOHN MORGAN. *A. W. Mackenzie, M.A., D.D., The Grove, Lakefield: A memoir*. Toronto: The Grove Old Boys' Association. 1938. Pp. 25. (\$1.00)
- HARVEY, JEAN-CHARLES. *\$120.00 a year* (Canadian magazine, XCI (1), Jan., 1939, 12-13, 44-6). Deals with the educational system in French Canada and its effect on industrial and business life.
- KLINCK, GEORGE. *The development and progress of education in Elmira and vicinity*. Elmira, Ont.: The author. 1938. Pp. [xiv], 63. (25c.)
- LORTIE, LÉON. *Les lettres de J.-B. Meilleur sur l'éducation en 1838* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 24ème année (95), sept., 1938, 251-71). Excerpts from and comments on letters exchanged between J.-B. Meilleur, superintendent of education for Lower Canada, and Arthur Buller who presented the views of Lord Durham.
- MCARTHUR, DUNCAN. *Vitalizing our schools* (Maclean's magazine, LII (4), Feb. 15, 1939, 13, 47-9). A review of the new Ontario school programme.
- MAURAUULT, OLIVIER. *L'Ecole française de Berthier ou le Château de Liberté*. Montréal: Les Editions des Dix. 1938. Pp. 22. Tells of the school founded in Berthier, Quebec, in 1875 by the Amaron family. Almost all the pupils were children of English parentage.
- MORROW, RISING LAKE (ed.). *Conference on educational problems in Canadian-American relations*. Held at the University of Maine, Orono, Maine, June 21-23, 1938. Under the joint auspices of the University of Maine, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Orono, Me.: University of Maine Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 248. See p. 324.

- NEEDHAM, ROBERT W. *Sixty years of service: The University of Western Ontario from small beginnings has become one of the great centres of higher education.* (Reprinted from *London Free press*, July 28, 1938.) London, Ont.: University of Western Ontario. 1938. Pp. 5.
- Ontario, Department of education. *Report of the minister for the year 1937.* Toronto: King's Printer. 1938. Pp. iv, 78.
- PLANTE, ALBERT. *Vingt-cinq ans de vie française: Le Collège de Sudbury.* Montréal. 1938. Pp. 152. (50c.)
- PLENDERLEITH, WM. A. et al. *The Plenderleith report on King's county educational survey: An abstract of a preliminary survey of education in New Brunswick . . .* Fredericton, N.B.: Department of Education. 1938. Pp. x, 68. Digested in the *Journal of education, Nova Scotia*, March, 1938.
- Les premières écoles du soir à Québec* (B.R.H., XLIV (12), déc., 1938, 374-5). The first free night school was established in Quebec in 1868 by the Société Saint-Vincent de Paul.
- Protestant committee of the council of education. *Statement concerning the report of the Quebec protestant education survey.* Montreal: The Committee. 1939. Pp. 139. An analysis of the *Report*, giving credit where possible, but pointing out financial difficulties in the way of realizing its objectives.
- Report of the Quebec Protestant education survey.* (W. A. F. HEPBURN, chairman of the survey committee.) Quebec: Department of Education. 1938. Pp. xiv, 368. This comprehensive report on Protestant education in the province of Quebec is based on examination of official documents and consultation with interested persons and organizations, teachers and pupils. It is an indictment of the inefficiency of the present system under the Protestant committee, and sets forth valuable recommendations for improvement. See review in *Canadian forum*, XIX (219), April, 1939, 9-11.
- STEPHEN, A. G. A. (ed.). *Private schools in Canada: A handbook of boys' schools.* Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, for Canadian Headmasters' Association. 1938. Pp. viii, 133.
- WEBSTER, E. C. *Guidance for the high school pupil: A study of Quebec secondary schools.* Foreword by W. D. TAIT. (McGill social research series, no. 8.) Montreal: McGill University [Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co.]. 1939. Pp. xx, 153. (\$1.75)
- Wolfville Acadian*, Aug. 25, 1938: Acadia centennial edition, 1838-1938. This edition is a contribution to the history of Acadia University.
- WRIGHT, CECIL A. *Law and the law schools* (Canadian bar review, XVI (8), Oct., 1938, 579-601).
- ## VII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY
- BERGERON, HENRI-PAUL. *Brother André, C.S.C., the apostle of Saint Joseph.* Trans. from the French by Rev. RÉAL BOUDREAU. New York: Benziger. 1938. Pp. 292. (\$2.00) The life of the lay-brother of Mount Royal, Canada, whose power of healing is attested by the crutches and other trophies in the Basilica of St. Joseph.
- COLLTON, F. W. *Sault Ste. Marie and Manitowaning* (Canadian churchman, LXVI (22), June 1, 1939, 345-6). A continuation of a series on centenarian parishes and churches in Ontario.
- DOMBREVAL, JEAN. *Archives et souvenirs.* Drummondville, P.Q.: La Parole. 1938. Pp. 259. (\$1.00) A series of historical studies of events and persons connected with the Messieurs de Saint-Sulpice.
- LAJAT, FELIX-M. *Le lazaret de Tracadie et la communauté des Religieuses Hospitalières de Saint-Joseph.* Montréal: Action paroissiale. 1938. Pp. 434. (\$1.50)

Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline de Tours, fondatrice des Ursulines de la Nouvelle-France: Ecrits spirituels et historiques. Publiés par Dom CLAUDE MARTIN. Réédités par Dom ALBERT JAMET. Avec des annotations critiques, des pièces documentaires et une biographie nouvelle. Tome IV. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Cie. Québec: L'Action sociale. 1939. Pp. 422. (85 frs.) To be reviewed later.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

BRIGADIER-GENERAL E. A. CRUIKSHANK

In the death on June 23 at Ottawa of Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank, Ontario lost one who made the largest contribution toward the preservation of her history. Year after year books poured from his pen. The first came nearly three score years ago—a history of the settlement and the beginnings of municipal government in Welland county; the last was ready for the printer when he died. He made few excursions outside the history of Ontario, and those were not the least successful of his efforts. One cannot recall another whose achievement in the Ontario field ranks with that of General Cruikshank. His conspicuous entry in that field was his nine-volume *Documentary history of the campaigns on the Niagara frontier in 1812-14* for which he ransacked the libraries, repositories and archives of Ottawa and Toronto, Albany, Washington, and London. For the student of the conflict and the student of military affairs that will ever be a source work. His great work for the Ontario Historical Society was the editing of the *Simcoe papers* in five volumes and the *Russell papers* in three volumes, and he contributed as well innumerable articles to the *Papers and records* of the Society. He wrote a great deal for the historical societies of Welland, Lincoln, Lundy's Lane, and Niagara. Miscellaneous writings were also published by the Royal Society of Canada, and the Canadian Historical Association. An extended series of papers was contributed by him to the *Selected papers* of the Canadian Military Institute. Several years ago he stepped out from the Canadian scene with the publication of *The life of Sir Henry Morgan* (Toronto, 1935), and *The political adventures of John Henry* (Toronto, 1936)—the latter the life of a gifted fakir who moved in high places is as engaging as a detective story; the former is a complete and competent biography of the great buccaneer.

Born in Bertie township, Welland county, June 29, 1853, General Cruikshank was graduated from Upper Canada College with honours, and engaged for some years in newspaper and magazine work in the United States. Returning to Canada he interested himself in municipal affairs and was warden of Welland county in 1886. His military career began in 1877 with a commission in the 44th Welland Battalion, and he rose in due course to command of the Lincoln and Welland Regiment, and later of the Fifth Infantry Brigade. In 1911 he was appointed a colonel of the permanent staff. He was assigned to the command of Military District No. 13 with headquarters at Calgary and remained in that post until 1917 when he went to France. On his return to Ottawa, at the close of the war, he was appointed director of the historical section of the general staff.

When the historic sites and monuments board was created by the Canadian government twenty years ago, General Cruikshank was made chairman, a position he occupied until his death. He was ever the directing genius of the splendid work carried out by the board, in all over two hundred sites having been marked. He was a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain, a past president of the Ontario Historical Society, a vice-president of the Canadian Military Institute. The University of Alberta conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws, and in 1935 the Royal Society of Canada awarded him the Tyrrell gold medal for outstanding work in connection with the history of Canada.

General Cruikshank was spared long years for his work and he brought to it from first to last a tremendous energy, and a passion for accuracy. That explains both the extent and the value of his writings. He was a man of extremely simple character and wholly wanting in pretence. [LOUIS BLAKE DUFF]

DRAKE'S PLATE OF BRASS

[We are indebted for the following information to Professor J. Bartlet Brebner of Columbia University.]

Your readers may be interested to know that the inscribed brass plate found near San Francisco in 1936, purporting to be that set up by Francis Drake in June 1579 to proclaim Queen Elizabeth's possession of New Albion, has been subjected to expert metallurgical examination and has been authenticated. The California Historical Society has recorded the discovery, the general historical considerations involved, and the remarkable metallurgical investigations made by C. G. Fink and E. P. Polushkin in its generously illustrated special publications nos. 13 and 14, *Drake's plate of brass* (San Francisco, 1937) and *Drake's plate of brass authenticated* (San Francisco, 1938). Some further information on the curious circumstances surrounding the discovery and on the historical problems involved may be found in articles by R. B. Haselden and A. L. Chickering in the *California historical quarterly*, September, 1937, and in the *Report of the Canadian Historical Association* for 1937.

Miss Jean Newton McIlwraith died in Burlington, Ontario, on November 17, 1938, in her eightieth year. She was the author of the life of Haldimand in the "Makers of Canada" series; also of a child's history of Canada published in 1899, and of some works of fiction with a strong historical interest. Her early writing was done in Hamilton where she was born and educated. She went to New York in 1902 and was for a number of years head reader for Doubleday, Page and Company. She retired about 1919 and since 1922 had lived in Burlington.

The research committee of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs announces a grant of \$5000.00 a year for the three-year period, July 1, 1939 to June 30, 1942, from the Rockefeller Foundation. This sum is to be expended upon research projects in the field of international affairs and public affairs in Canada having a bearing upon international affairs. It may be used to assist authors or to provide subsidies for publication. Inquiries are welcomed from scholars working on topics within the above-mentioned field or from scholars anxious to undertake work in this field. Among recent works prepared with the assistance of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs are *Canada looks abroad* by R. A. MacKay and E. B. Rogers, *Canada to-day* by F. R. Scott, *The wheat economy* by G. E. Britnell, *The Japanese Canadians* by H. R. Y. Reid, Charles Young, and W. A. Carrothers. Inquiries should be addressed to the National Secretary, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 86 Queen's Park, Toronto.

Announcement is made that the fellowships of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation have been extended to Canada and Newfoundland. Six stipends, normally fixed at \$2,500 a year, will be awarded annually to assist scholars and artists from Canada and Newfoundland to come to the United States to do research and creative work in their various fields. The previous production of work of the highest quality is a prerequisite to appointment. Applications will be due at the office of the Foundation, 551 Fifth Avenue, New York City, on or before October 15 of each year and the fellowships will be awarded the following March. The Guggenheim fellowships are well known to Canadians and the recently announced decision of the Foundation will be much appreciated. A number of Canadians now resident in the United States have been awarded fellowships since they were established in 1925.

BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

(These notes are of necessity selective. Suggestions will be appreciated.)

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has made frequent references to the importance of local history. The local community often reveals in miniature the broad developments which affect the country as a whole and the study of general themes may often be enriched by illustrations drawn from the local scene. A renaissance in the study of Canadian history in the schools is long overdue, but it is unquestionably under way in some parts of the dominion at least, and in this renaissance local history, wisely handled, should have an increasingly important place. The primary aim should be not to teach isolated facts but rather to make clear the relation of the local community to tendencies and changes which have affected the political, economic, and social development of the province and the whole dominion. An interest in the collection and preservation of historical records, which have in the past been sadly neglected, should be an important by-product of the study of local history, and co-operation with historical societies, museums, and provincial archives should be encouraged. The REVIEW is interested in a number of illustrations of work which is being done which have recently come to its attention. In Nova Scotia the provincial archives with the assistance of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation has provided a series of radio addresses for schools and has sent a member of its staff to all the high schools of the province. In Ontario the recently revised course in Canadian history gives local history a definite place in the year's work. Through the kindness of one of the inspectors the REVIEW has seen some admirable examples of work which indicate that advantage is being taken of this new opportunity. Mention in particular may be made of a small brochure, *Toronto's yesterdays*, written by Leo Hamson of the Danforth Technical School, Toronto, and illustrated and printed by students of the school. In British Columbia excellent results are being obtained through the joint efforts of the university, the provincial archives, and the historical societies. It is to be hoped that these beginnings are a prophecy of a development which should be encouraged throughout the dominion.

Some Recent Books in Canadian History

There has recently been a welcome increase of books on Canadian history for high schools. Professor A. L. Burt's *The romance of Canada* (Toronto, W. J. Gage, 1937, 400 pp.) is a text which embodies the results of research during the past few years and which provides a better balance between various sections of the country than has usually been the case in previous texts. It has excellent notes and suggestions for further study at the end of each chapter. D. C. Harvey's *The heart of Howe: Selections from the letters and speeches of Joseph Howe* (Toronto, Oxford, 1939, xx, 197pp., \$1.50) should find a place in every school library. Howe in his breadth of view and in his compelling treatment of great public questions, has been equalled by few public men in the history of the dominion. No adequate impression of the man can be obtained in any other way than by reading what he wrote, and Mr. Harvey, the archivist of Nova Scotia, has performed an excellent service in making available for the schools a carefully chosen selection from Howe's writings. *Social studies for Canadians* by George A. Cornish and Selwyn H. Dewdney (Toronto, Copp, Clark, 1938, viii, 504pp.) is an attempt to combine the interests of geography in the broad sense of the term with history. It contains a great deal of interesting material on various types of life in Canada with comparisons of life in other regions, following which are chapters on the provinces, on Newfoundland, and on the United States. The historical material which is scattered in various

places throughout the book is much less satisfactorily handled than is the geographical. In fact the method seems to preclude any adequate treatment of the broad developments of Canadian history. Military campaigns receive an undue proportion of the space devoted to history. The misprint of "Kersey" for "Kelsey" (pp. vii and 354) is unfortunate. *Nova Scotia at work* by H. P. Jenkins (Toronto, Ryerson, 1938, viii, 231pp., \$1.00) may be mentioned in this connection although it does not contain historical material. It presents in simple and interesting style information with regard to industries, transportation, the co-operative movement, etc. *The pathfinders of North America* by Edwin and Mary Guillet (Toronto, Macmillan, 1939, xiv, 304pp., \$1.25) is profusely illustrated and attractively printed. It has the merit of presenting in brief chapters not only the stories of Canadian explorers but also those of other important explorers of the continent. *Traders and trappers* by M. Cathcart Borer (Toronto, Pitman, n.d., vi, 114pp.) presents some interesting material in simple style. The Anglo-French struggle takes, however, an undue proportion of the space and the short chapter on the period following 1763 is quite inadequate. *Finding new homes in Canada* by Edwin C. Guillet and Jessie E. McEwen (Toronto, Nelson, 1938, viii, 248, 75c.) has brief chapters describing the establishment of the first settlements in various parts of the dominion from Atlantic to Pacific. Like Mr. Guillet's volume on the explorers it is most attractively printed and illustrated. *Beyond the shining mountains* by Dorothy Fay Gould (Portland, Ore., Binfords and Mort, 1938, 212pp., \$2.25) is a short and well-illustrated story of the North-west Coast. The book is primarily concerned with Oregon but there is considerable material on the exploration of the British Columbian coast. *Famous men and women of Canada* by Mabel Burns McKinley (Toronto, Longmans, Green, 1938, [vi], 128pp., 60c.) contains eleven chapters with an interesting selection of subjects including Alexander Henry, Sir James Douglas, Nellie McClung, Lord Strathcona, Susanna Moodie, Ralph Connor, and Pauline Johnson. *Canadian ways* by Leila Gott Harris and Kilroy Harris is not historical in its interest. It is rather a description of Canada and its people written primarily for the information of non-Canadians. It could be read with interest, however, by Canadian students especially as it is profusely and attractively illustrated. *High days and holidays in Canada* by Annie H. Foster and Anne Grierson (Toronto, Ryerson, 1938, 84pp., 50c.) contains brief accounts of the origins of some sixty days of special interest which illustrate incidentally the varied sources from which Canada has derived its culture. *La Salle: Explorer of our midland empire* by Flora Warren Seymour (New York, D. Appleton-Century [Toronto, Ryerson], 1939, xviii, 236pp., \$2.25) may be recommended as a simple biography of the explorer written in story form. Its interest as well as its historical value might have been enhanced by more extensive quotations from the accounts of La Salle's journeys. Canadian historical novels suitable for students are as yet all too few in number. Mr. Charles Clay of the *Winnipeg free press* has given in his *Young voyageur* (Toronto, Oxford, 1938, x, 409pp., \$1.50) a story of the fur trade in the late eighteenth century which skilfully combines fiction with incidents and names well known in Canadian history.

Selected Titles in Ancient History

The past two or three years have been productive of so much valuable work in this field that the following selection must in some respects be arbitrary. *Les Aryens* by G. Poisson (Paris, Payot, 1934, 20 fr.) although lacking certain merits of V. Gordon Childe's fuller and more expensive book (*The Aryans*, London, Kegan Paul) is an adequate, clear, and inexpensive account of a subject which has invited much loose talk. *Les premières civilisations* by five collaborators (in the series

Peuples et civilisations, Paris, Alcan, 60 fr.) treats the ancient history of the near east, the Aegean, and Greece to the sixth century B.C. in a precise and up-to-date fashion. In *The archaeology of Crete* (London, Methuen, 1939, 30s.) J. D. S. Pendlebury sums up the advances made by the spade in our knowledge of Minoan history and culture, illustrating his remarks with photographs, maps, and drawings. Botsford's well-known but out-of-date *Hellenic history* has been revised by C. A. Robinson, jr. (Toronto, Macmillan, 1939, \$4.50) to include new material provided by archaeology and by such recent research as Tarn's important pioneering work on the Greek dynasties in Bactria and India. It deals with Greek history from the Bronze age to the Roman conquest and is embellished by 72 beautiful full-page plates. Compton MacKenzie's biography *Pericles* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1937, 18s.) suffers somewhat from padding and doubtful interpretations, but gives a life-like portrait of the great Athenian, and a readable description of the *milieu* in which he lived. *Paideia*, an important book by the German scholar, W. Jaeger, has just appeared in English translation (London, Blackwell, 1939, 15s.). Through analysis of Greek literary works down to Thucydides' *History*, Jaeger endeavours to lay bare the ideals of Greek culture with special emphasis on the methods by which the ideals were inculcated in succeeding generations. It should be stimulating to anyone interested in education or in Greece. B. R. English in *The problem of freedom in Greece* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1938, \$1.25) uses the same method to expose the development of the Greek attitude to moral and political liberty. Volume IV of Frank's *Economic survey of the Roman world* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1938, \$5.00) discussing Africa, Syria, Greece, and Asia, has appeared. *Pompeii* by R. C. Carrington (Oxford, 1936, 10s. 6d.) gives an admirable and succinct account of the archaeology and history of that city illustrated with 24 plates. *Roman provincial administration* by G. Stevenson (London, Blackwell, 1939, 7s. 6d.) is a brief and lucid description of Roman foreign policy and of the machinery of provincial and municipal administration to the end of the second century A.D. A. H. M. Jones handles an apparently complicated but fascinating chapter of Roman imperial history with considerable success in *The Herods of Judaea* (Oxford, 1938, \$3.50). The account of Roman Britain in *Roman Britain and the English settlements* by R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres (Oxford, 1937, 12s. 6d.) is so brilliant as to be a model for any similar work. For those who have access to periodical literature, "The study of the persecutions" by H. Last, an article in the *Journal of Roman studies*, 1937, sums up in masterly style the present state of the perennial debate on the attitude of the Roman government to the Christians. *Science in antiquity* by B. Farrington (Toronto, Nelson, 1936, 75c.) is a brief survey of the development of ancient science and its achievements. *Hellas and Rome* by Bossert and Zschietzschmann (London, Zwemmer, 1936, 8s. 6d.), an invaluable volume of over 500 plates which was mentioned in these columns some time ago, has since appeared with introduction and titles in English. [M. ST. A. WOODSIDE]

Teachers of medieval history will welcome *Medieval panorama* by G. G. Coulton (Cambridge University Press, 1938), and, those already familiar with his *Medieval village* and *Medieval scene*, will find this a worthy successor to those two valuable works. The author discusses various phases (fifty-two, to be exact) of life in the middle ages; and his minute knowledge, spirited style, and general treatment will help greatly to fill in the bare outline of events. The chapters on the village, the monastery, the towns, chivalry, home life, trade and travel, from school to university, medicine, the Lollards, the Hundred Years' War, and the black death will

serve as a useful background for the teacher of general history; while those on Chaucer and Malory, Dante, the theatre, the Bible, and More should be helpful to those interested in the history of literature. The repeated reference to the past in the light of the present (for example, the frequent comments on current European affairs and the chapters on the ghetto) probably account for the remarkable freshness which prevails throughout the book and should assist the teacher in his efforts to make history real. A small typographical error on page 233 is unfortunate and mars a book that should be used for reference and pleasure by every teacher, and possibly by some pupils as well. [DAVID MUNROE]

Documents and readings in the history of Europe since 1918, edited by Walter Consuelo Langsam and James Michael Eagan (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1939, xxviii, 865pp., \$3.75). The documents brought together in this volume will form a useful supplement to the general histories of Europe in the period. Unlike most other collections, this is not confined to international relations or any other one subject. The documents are chosen from a variety of sources: government publications, speeches, monographs, newspaper articles, diaries, and so on. The editors have attempted, with a considerable degree of success, to balance both the subjects covered and the points of view represented. The first part of the book deals with international affairs, starting with the peace conference of Paris. The remaining chapters are on individual countries: Great Britain and the empire, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and the U.S.S.R. Within these chapters both domestic and foreign questions are covered; and the reader will find a wide variety from treaties to the Horst Wessel song. [G. DE T. GLAZEBROOK]

A sketch-map history of the Great War and after, 1914-1935 by Irene Richards, J. B. Goodson, and J. A. Morris (Toronto, Clarke, Irwin, 1938, 136pp., \$1.10). This volume of sketch maps with accompanying notes contains a large amount of material reduced to understandable form. The brevity of the notes has resulted in a severe policy of compression and the inclusion of notes in the maps gives them at times a rather confusing appearance, but the book will repay study and would be a very useful addition to any school library.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

British Columbia Historical Association, New Westminster and Fraser Valley Section. This new section was organized at a meeting held in New Westminster on February 1. On April 1 there were 26 paid-up members. The following officers were elected: Honorary president, His Honour Judge F. W. Howay; president, W. N. Draper; vice-president, Mrs. E. G. Pearson; treasurer E. H. Sands; secretary, E. M. Cotton.

British Columbia Historical Association, Vancouver Section. Mr. Henry Johnson delivered an address on "Kamloops: the meeting of the water" at the meeting held in Hotel Vancouver on February 7, illustrating his address with slides made from old documents and from his own research into the history of the district. The Rev. Father O'Boyle spoke at the meeting of March 20 on "Father Coccola," the missionary who worked for many years amongst the Indians of the interior of British Columbia.

British Columbia Historical Association, Victoria Section. "The early botanical exploration of the Pacific Northwest" was the subject of an address given by Mr. J. W. Eastham of Vancouver, well-known plant pathologist, at the meeting on

January 17. At the meeting of February 21, Mr. F. S. Cunliffe spoke on the early history of the city of Nanaimo, and the original *Fort Nanaimo journal*, 1857-9, was exhibited by Dr. Lamb. The arrival, eighty-nine years ago, of Richard Blanshard, first governor of the colony of Vancouver Island, was honoured by a reception at Oak Bay on March 11, and addresses were given by Mr. John Goldie and Dr. T. A. Rickard.

The *Canadian Catholic Historical Association* has published its annual report for 1937-8. The articles printed therein are included in our bibliography of recent publications relating to Canada. The following are the principal officers for 1938-9: Honorary president, the Most Rev. J. M. Rodrigue; president-general, the Rev. J. B. O'Reilly. *English section*: President, the Hon. W. H. McGuire; secretary, Dr. J. F. Kenney, 133 Rideau Terrace, Ottawa; treasurer, Miss Florence Boland. *French section*: President, the Abbé Lionel Groulx; secretary, M. Séraphin Marion, Public Archives, Ottawa; treasurer, the Rev. A. Tessier.

The annual meeting for 1939 will be held in Kingston in October.

Les Dix. Ten monthly meetings were held in 1937-8 and the society issued its second number of *cahiers* (revd. C.H.R., Dec., 1938, 416). Two historical excursions were made: the first to the St. Maurice river under the direction of the Abbé Tessier, and the second to Lake St. Pierre under M. Boucher de la Bruère.

The *Grand Manan Historical Society* has recently issued a new coloured map of Grand Manan island, compiled by Mr. Buchanan Charles. An interesting feature of the map is the inclusion of the eighty-six herring weirs which give the island one of its principal industries.

The *Historical Association of Annapolis Royal*. The first quarterly meeting of 1939 was held on February 25 with the president Lieutenant-Colonel Harris in the chair. Attention was drawn to the excellent report and plans submitted by Mr. C. C. Pinkney who made an archaeological survey of the site of the Port Royal habitation, Lower Granville, N.S. Two papers were read, "The Ritchie family of Annapolis Royal and its descendants—judges and lawyers" by Mr. C. N. Whitman, and "Outline of the business establishments of Annapolis Royal fifty to sixty years ago" by Lieutenant-Colonel Harris, as well as extracts from the annual report of the honorary superintendent of Fort Anne to the controller of the national parks bureau, Ottawa. The May meeting was held at the site of Champlain's habitation, Lower Granville, N.S., with 60 members present. After an examination of the archaeological survey, just completed, an address was given by Lieutenant-Colonel Harris on the habitation.

History Association of Montreal. The officers for 1938-9 are: Honorary president, Professor E. R. Adair; president, Mrs. J. E. MacVicar; vice-president, Miss D. J. Ross; secretary, Miss A. V. C. Kerr, 1452 Sherbrooke St. W.; treasurer, Mrs. T. H. Bacon.

Hudson's Bay Record Society. The second volume of the Hudson's Bay Record Society in association with the Champlain Society will be published in October. The subject is "Colin Robertson's correspondence, 1817-1822," which deals with all the important factors involved in the struggle between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company and in their ultimate coalition. It was Robertson, above all others, who insisted that the Hudson's Bay Company must penetrate into Athabaska and there compete with the North West Company. He himself—a former member of the North West Company—organized, and finally led

the expeditions, and his views on the Hudson's Bay Company and its operations are those of an outside observer of keen mind and considerable literary ability.

Robertson's letters involve constant reference to the numerous other documents which deal with this important topic, and open up a new chapter in the history and internal development of the Hudson's Bay Company. The introduction to this volume has demanded so much research in the archives of the company that it is being written by the general editor of the series, Mr. E. E. Rich, of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, England.

Membership in the Record Society had reached a total of 521 in March. Of these, 178 were from the United Kingdom, 218 from Canada, 115 from the United States, 3 from the British Empire, and 7 foreign. [ALICE MACKAY]

London and Middlesex Historical Society. Bronze plates in memory of Sir Arthur Currie, Sir George Ross, and the Hon. Edward Blake were erected in the Court House in London, Ontario, on November 21, 1938, under the auspices of the London and Middlesex Historical Society.

Ontario Historical Society. The annual meeting was held in London, Ontario, on June 22 and 23, with a registered attendance of 62, but an actual attendance somewhat larger. The local arrangements, which were excellent, had been made by the London and Middlesex Historical Society. A lively interest marked all the sessions. Cronyn Hall, St. Paul's Cathedral, which had been kindly opened for the purpose by the dean and corporation, was headquarters for the meeting. The following papers were presented: "The Long Point Furnace," by William J. Patterson; "Extracts from the diary of H. G. R. Beecher," by the Rev. M. A. Garland; "Oil wells of western Ontario," by Colonel R. B. Harkness; "London's first murder trial," by H. Orlo Miller; "Van Egmond at Montgomery's Tavern," by Professor W. B. Kerr; "Episodes in the history of medicine in the London district," by Dr. Edwin Seaborn.

In the afternoon of June 22 a motor trip was taken to Delaware village in the vicinity of which Ebenezer Allen, the first settler in Middlesex county, had located. Regarding him Dr. Morley Bebee Turpin of Rochester University gave an interesting address, and Mr. H. J. Trumper of Delaware made some supplementary remarks. On the following afternoon a session was held at the University of Western Ontario. Mr. W. W. Jury, curator of the University museum, read a paper on "Indian trails in western Ontario." Dr. Nash of the Royal Ontario Museum gave an illustrated talk on the excavating work being done on a pre-historic Indian village in the neighbourhood of Aylmer (Elgin county) and Professor McIlwraith spoke briefly of the recent discovery of Viking weapons near Lake Nipigon. This was the first time in some years that a session of the society was devoted to archaeology, and the result was gratifying. In the evening a memorial window, originally erected in memory of Colonel Mahlon Burwell in the Burwell Memorial Church, Caradoc township, and recently removed to Cronyn Hall, was unveiled.

A special feature of the meeting was a round table conference on local history, to which the London teachers had been specially invited. The attendance was good. The discussion revealed that co-operation between local historical societies and schools already existed at several points and uncovered ways in which further co-operation was possible. In fact, the programme for the meeting as a whole represented local history at its best, for, while dealing with matters primarily of local interest most of the discussion had a general application as well: the products of the Long Point furnace were sold throughout Upper Canada and the oil of

Canada West reached the English market; Van Egmond linked the Huron tract with the rebellion of 1837; and Ebenezer Allen was an international figure as he was the first white settler on the site of Rochester before he came to Upper Canada.

The officers elected for the next year are: President, Dr. James J. Talman; vice-presidents, the Rev. Percival Mayes and C. W. Jefferys; secretary-treasurer, J. McE. Murray; additional executive officers, George W. Spragge, the Rev. M. A. Garland, Louis Blake Duff, Miss E. Appelbe, and David Williams.

The Saskatchewan Historical Society. Following a resolution passed at the last annual meeting to secure representation on the historic sites and monuments board of Canada, Mr. J. A. Gregory, president of the society, was appointed to the board to represent the province. Several committees have been set up to deal with such matters as: the constitutional and political history of Saskatchewan; early explorers and exploration; Indians; métis; colonization and immigration; church history; education in the north-west; the North West Mounted Police. New branches have been organized at Wolseley, Qu'Appelle, and Indian Head, while others are in the course of formation at Moosomin and Weyburn. The society continues to collect valuable historical documents and has recently acquired the personal correspondence and documents of Colonel James F. MacLeod, one of the earliest commissioners of the North West Mounted Police, and documents concerning Sitting Bull and the Sioux during their sojourn in Canada, 1877-81.

Thompson Valley and District Museum and Historical Association. The pioneer home of Mrs. R. E. Smith has been purchased by Mrs. J. S. Burris and is to be held in trust by the city of Kamloops for museum and library purposes. It is the intention of the museum committee to transfer the re-erected Hudson's Bay trading post building from Riverside park to the new premises. Over 860 pioneer photographs have been gathered and catalogued for display purposes as well as many relics of local historical interest at Kamloops.

United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, Vancouver Section. This branch of the Association was organized in October, 1932, and has held four regular meetings each year. A valuable collection of papers constituting the addresses delivered at the meetings is being collected. A medal has been awarded for three consecutive years to students competing in a special essay on United Empire Loyalist tradition, which is arranged through the department of history, University of British Columbia, and great satisfaction has been experienced at the interest which the students have expressed in their investigation of the British tradition in Canada's history. The branch has also set aside a sum of money to be used for the purchase of reference books on loyalist lore for the University Library. President, the Rev. Dr. H. R. Trumpour; corresponding secretary, Miss Bessie Perley Choate.

The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa has published in a single pamphlet its annual reports for 1938 and 1939. The following are the officers for 1939-40: Patroness, the Lady Tweedsmuir; president, Mrs. Robert Dorman; recording secretary, Miss Lilian Newman; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Norman Robertson; treasurer, Mrs. C. E. Steeves; museum director, Miss Primrose McLean.

The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. President, Miss Carolyn Roberts; corresponding secretary, Miss Kate Symon, 68 Avenue road; convenor of museum at old Fort York, Mrs. A. W. Macnab; convenor of Colborne lodge, High park, Mrs. W. J. Robinson.

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

An unusually large number of bibliographies and descriptions of historical collections in various parts of the dominion has appeared in recent months. It is to be hoped that libraries which have not published descriptions of their collections of Canadiana will be encouraged to do so. A number of bibliographies were included under the "Bibliography" heading of the list of recent publications in our June issue. The REVIEW will at any time welcome information with regard to items of this kind.

Fort Ticonderoga Museum. The *Bulletin* of the museum for July, 1939, contains an article on "American pole arms or shafted weapons" with illustrations from the museum's large collection. A number of references are made to campaigns of importance in Canadian history.

The Library of Congress, Washington. The *Annual report* of the Library for 1938 reports the accession of photographic copies of papers from the British foreign office relating to British claims on the United States respecting the Hudson's Bay Company's rights in Oregon, 1848-71, 7 vols., and those relating to the north-west boundary dispute and the island of San Juan, 1846-73, 18 vols.

The New Brunswick Museum has issued a catalogue of the pictorial section of the John Clarence Webster collection of Canadiana. The portraits, sketches, engravings, paintings, and maps, which are listed have a wide range of historical interest. Over 200 items are listed from Dr. Webster's magnificent collection of materials on General Wolfe. The *Canadian bookman* of April-May, 1939, contains a description of the Webster collection by A. G. Bailey.

Nova Scotia Public Archives. The *Annual report* for 1938 contains a full description of the active work which is being done by the archives, a list of acquisitions, and a section of the original census of 1827 dealing with the present Antigonish county. Among the acquisitions is a gift from T. Howland White, Esq., of Shelburne, "the most varied and valuable collection of private papers that the Archives has yet received." A catalogue of maps, plans, and charts in the possession of the archives was published during the past year.

University of Western Ontario. The library is adding rapidly to its already valuable collection on the history of Ontario and in particular to source materials bearing on the economic and social development of the province. The report of the library for the year ending April 30, 1939, mentions a number of important accessions including: records and papers relating to milling and other business activities in the now almost abandoned village of Carlisle; papers of the late John H. Teall of Tillsonburg, who was active in various lines of business and in the promotion of railway enterprises; early records of various organizations including the minute book of the Tecumseh Baseball Club of London, entries beginning in 1868. Additions have also been made to the university's already valuable collection of the early newspapers of western Ontario.

